Near-record crowd greeted Ms. Steinem and Ms. Sloan

Steinem and Sloan Address Near Record Crowd

By HEIDI KRUEGER

On Thursday, November 16th, in the field house, a crowd of only 15 less than the record gathering for any lecture at Middlebury College greeted Gloria Steinem and Margaret Sloan.

The reaction was varied. Many expecting to sit back and have their consciousnesses raised were disappointed. Many already aware of the sex-role bonds heard little that was new, for which the two Ms. editors later apologized. Many were simply entertained. Steinem was witty; Sloan showed perfectly timed humor. The crowd was kept laughing at parodies of women brought up to drop anything for a man, "male junkies" comments like: "if men only knew how little it matters which man is standing next to them" (the women tended to appreciate that one a little more than the men); cracks about the "jockocracy" (as we await the new field house); the retelling of the immortal See Spot Run stories where little Dick sits on the floor with his erector set, as Jane brings in milk and cookies...

But it was not all funny; there were statistics (Sloan: "I heard you college kids are impressed by that sort of thing") on deaths by hack abortions. Not funny. There was an historical account of the change from 5000 years of a female dominated society to a male dominated one, when males realized that they too played a part in procreation, and brute strength became more of a virtue than the mystical, more spiritual aspect of their lives. It was stated that women are actually not substantially weaker physically than men (at childhood and old age they are equal) to make a significant difference in protection or any other roles, especially in an age where hand to hand combat has given way to new and better means of destruction. The myth about bra-burning was reshattered. And it was reemphasized that women do not want to replace men in their power roles (to "be like Men"). Who would want to be?

But it was afterward in Proctor lounge that the meeting really got going. With a smaller gathering of (only) women, Steinem and Sloan talked (and got others to talk) about things beyond the obvious ones mentioned in the lecture. Several arrangements were made for Vermont women in special situations to get together. People with common problems, such as how to get women, especially mothers, of an older consciousness, to realize new perspectives without destroying them with the concepts that have become part of them, compared experiences. The problem of hostility toward women who refuse to, or cannot, admit that female subservience to men may not be a virtue to strive for, as well as basic problems in communication, were dealt with, with a sincere attempt at understanding as the conclusion. The most important thing said, however, was that neither Gloria Steinem nor Margaret Sloan can really tell women anything they don't already know. It is a matter of personal understanding first—then a matter of organization, working together, talking together. Many came to see Steinem. For some it was a very important event. For some an amusement. But it is what comes next that will, and should prove most important to the individuals of this community.

THE MIDDLEBURY CAMPUS

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Chris Graff to head WRMC - FM in 1973

WRMC-FM held its yearly elections for the station Board of Directors last Sunday evening. Sophomore Chris Graff, a native of North Pomfret, Vermont, was named to succeed Peggy Robinson as Station Manager. Working with Chris for the 1973 calendar year will be junior Flash Freundlich as Programming Director, sophomore Bill Kraus as Special Productions Director, sophomore Dennis O'Hayer as News Director, junior Chris Brown as Engineering Director, and sophomore Debby Eaton as Business Director.

Melanie Jackson and Jon Lonoff in "A Dream Play."

See Review — pp. 12-13.

ANALYSIS OF VERMONT TAXES:

Socialism for the Rich; Free-Enterprise for the Poor

By BILL REEDY

On November 15, 1972, Charles E. Walker, Deputy Secretary of the Treasury, put an end to corporate fears that President Nixon's pledge not to raise taxes in his second term did not extend to the corporate sector. He went on to say that he himself regarded corporate taxes as "still too high" despite reductions enacted in 1971.

In any discussion of the virtues of a planned economy versus a free marketplace economy, the topic of who does or would control the planning effort must arise. It is easy for us to single out the Soviet Union and declare that it is controlled by a self-serving bureaucratic planning board that has failed to meet the needs of the Russian people. It is also easy to single out the United States and declare that this self-interest and bureaucratization could never exist amongst the anarchy of the market system. It would also be untrue to make this claim in light of the American corporate state.

Focus on Vermont

An examination of the entire tax structure of the United States is far beyond the scope of this article. But in order to expand on, and clarify the above contention, a cursory examination of the Vermont tax structure should be sufficient to prove that, to a certain degree, control of the economy does exist in America and that only a small portion of the population benefits from that control and the remaining portion of the population must bear the major burden of supporting that segment which has control.

Firstly, much as people regard taxes as an enormous burden, there is a tendency to regard them as not only a necessary burden but also as a neutral, value-free institution. Taxes are what makes government function, and, the ideology continues, that government functions in the interests of the taxpayers. This assumption is fallacious for several reasons. In the collection of tax revenues, three concepts are utilized. "Taxes can be classified as regressive, proportional, or progressive, according to how they are shared by different income groups. A regressive tax hits the poor harder than the rich; if families with income under $5000 pay 10% of that income in a certain tax, whereas families over $15,000 pay 5%

continued on p. 22

Gloria Steinem

THE MIDDLEBURY CAMPUS

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Special thanks to Richard Monroe

Stafford lectures tonight on U.S. commitments

U.S. Senator Robert T. Stafford will speak in Proctor Lounge tonight at 8:00 pm. He will talk on "American Overseas Committments" and questions facing Congress when it convenes in January.

Senator Stafford is a graduate of Middlebury College, class of 1935. He has served as Attorney-General of Vermont, Lt. Governor, Governor, and U.S. Representative. During his service in the House, Mr. Stafford was chairman of the 87th Club and in the 92nd Congress was elected vice-chairman of the important House Republican Conference.

In 1971 he was appointed by Vermont's Governor Deane C. Davis to fill out the unexpired term of the late Winston L. Prouty. In Januray of 1972 he was elected to the remainder of the term. He now serves on the Committees of Labor and Public Welfare, Public Works, Veterans Affairs, and the Special Committee on Aging.

Senator Stafford's speech on campus is sponsored by the Middlebury College Republican Assembly.

Thanksgiving, Retrospectively

Thanksgiving Day, 1621: A sign of friendship between the White man and the Indian.

November 29, 1864: 300 Cheyenne men, women and children were massacred without mercy in a surprise attack on a "peaceful camp."

November 27, 1868: The Southern Cheyenne believing it was at peace with the Whites was attacked by surprise by Custer. The tribe was slaughtered.

June 25, 1876: Custer invaded Sioux country determined to wipe them out and attacked the Sioux led by Chiefs Crazy Horse and Gall resulting in the demise of George Armstrong Custer and his men.

November 23, 1972: Thanksgiving Day. But where were the Indians?

Announcements

SWEET ADELINES

Does the name Sweet Adelines mean anything to you? Could you be tempted to sing in a local barbershop ensemble? Do you harbor an irresistable urge to blend you voice in that sweet barbershop close harmony? If so, contact Jane Peatling, Box C1397 or Karen Thorkilsen, Box C1250 for additional information. Rehearsals probably starting in January.

PARKING REGULATIONS

November 15 to April 15 snow removal regulations are in effect. No cars may be parked on campus roads after 1:30 a.m. or on town roads (e.g. College Street) after 12:00 midnight.

So, on-campus parking for cars is restricted from 5 p.m. to 1:30 a.m. weekdays and 7:00 a.m. to 1:30 a.m. weekends. Cars in the way of snow plows will be towed away at the owner's expense.

FINANCIAL AID FOR 1973-1974

All students now receiving Financial Aid who intend to apply for a renewal and students who wish to apply for Financial Aid for the first time are to pick up the necessary application forms at the Financial Aid office in the Emma Willard House before leaving for Christmas vacation.

DORMS

Dorms will be closed over Christmas vacation. All students must be out of the dorms by noon, December 16th. Please lock your doors and windows when you leave. All rooms will be checked to assure that this has been done. Dorms will reopen on Tuesday, January 2nd at 8:00 a.m. There will be no exceptions to this.

WINTER TERM REBATES

There will be a board credit of $40 for students spending the entire Winter Term off campus on an approved Independent Study or Internship. Board credit applications may be obtained in the Dean of Student's office. Application **deadline** is **December 8**.

Students withdrawing at the end of fall term are not eligible for credit.

ADDITIONAL WINTER TERM COURSE

PS 89.3 Inside the Presidential Campaign: A Critical Examination of the Tools of the Trade
Mr. McLeod '73 and Mr. Buxbaum '74
(Mr. Dry sponsor)

We will attempt to learn as participants the techniques of Presidential politics and the effects a modern campaign can have on the citizenry and the candidate. Authors include Gary Wills, Joe McGiniss, Rolland Evans and Robert Novak, William F. Buckley Jr. and Dr. Hunter S. Thompson.

Through chiefly narrative sources this course seeks to give the student an "insider's" look at the craft of campaigning at the Presidential level and to help him answer several basic questions concerning the present and future state of American politics. They are: what sort of men operate within this trade and how successful can they be at affecting the outcome of a Presidential election and the national psyche in general?

Method of Instruction: Seminar

Limit on Enrollment: 20

GRIEVANCE COMMITTEE NEWS

By MARCY LARMON

The Grievance Committee met at their new time, 4:30, in Proctor Lounge on November 30th. It was decided that there would be no meeting this week because of upcoming finals.

In action taken on previous complaints, there will now be more lighting on in Ross Lounge. Lighting was dim before because of little student use. The Chess Club no longer will monopolize Proctor Lounge on Sunday afternoons. A formal letter was requested by the Librarian in order to change the time at which reserved books can be taken from the library, from 9:00 to 10:00, and the letter has been sent by the Library Working Group. Plans to build steps outside the mailroom in the Spring have been made, but steps cannot be built during the winter. The continuing problem of bike shelters will be taken up in the Community Council.

In new action, the suggestion was made that those students not on the meal plan should be given reduced dinner prices at Student-Faculty Department dinners, so that they could also have more opportunities to meet with faculty. Keith Oberg will discuss it with MCAB.

The problem of the buzzing light on the main floor of the Library was sent to the Library Working Group. Also referred to the Library Working Group was the suggestion that hours be extended, later in the evenings and earlier on Sundays.

Complaints that the shower curtains in Milliken and Hadley are moldy and that all hot water disappears at certain times in the mornings in Gifford and the Chateau were read. Keith Oberg will inquire about these problems.

Bob Fielding will investigate the possibility of more washers and dryers being installed in all dorms. He will also see Dean Wonnacott about the problem of transients sleeping in the lounges of dorms. The suggestion was made that night watchmen check lounges.

Requests for tomato-sauceless veal and more ice-cream machines were sent to the Dining Halls Working Group.

Dave Tatgenhorst will request that the Deans reprint the warning about cars being towed away during the winter in Old Chapel Notes, as some people apparently missed it.

The mudhole by Monroe is being taken care of.

There is the possibility that Monroe will be opened all night for studying in the future. This would be impossible in the library because of the necessity for hired staff.

Grievance Committee: Frank Pallone, Chairman, Box 1222; Shelley Maclay, Box 786; Dave Tatgenhorst, Box 718; Marcy Larmon, Box 1127; Robin Burnham, Box 742; Kathy Frazer, Box 1054; Lance Collister, Box 608; Dick Sclove, Box 1068; John Webb, Box 1344; Keith Oberg, Box 782; Bob Fielding, Box 716; Jonathan Keck, Box 946; Ann Fisher, Box

The Grievance Committee meets every Thursday at 4:30 in Proctor Lounge unless otherwise announced. Anyone with a complaint or a suggestion is invited. Complaints can also be given to individual members of the committee or put in the Bitch Box in the mailroom.

A Conservative View of Sexism

By LISA ANDERSON

I see two difficulties in attempting to criticize the women's liberation movement that has finally hit campus. First, some of what comes out of it is so obviously true that I do not want to be accused of all kinds of sexist crimes by dismissing the movement as a whole. If I were a man I would be a male chauvinist, of course. but as it is I guess I'm just a reactionary female. The other problem in an attempt at criticism is that many of the aspects of women's lib that disturb me are rarely stated explicitly. They are underlying feelings only sometimes visible through the flamboyant rhetoric, and they are feelings which strike me as unpleasant and abnormal.

In spite of Gloria Steinem's remark in her speech a few weeks ago about the "brave women" who organized the Women's Festival, I believe it takes more bravery for an intelligent, ambitious, woman to attack women's lib. The danger is that one will be dismissed as an unthinking, unprogressive type, perhaps even a member of Men Our Masters (a real organization -- its acronym : MOM, of course). Like Liberalism, social justice, and ecology, women's liberation is what intelligent people believe in these days.

Perhaps women's liberation arose out of a true need. It cannot be seriously contested that women should be seen as individuals, not as sex objects. It can hardly be contested that women should not be discouraged from seeking jobs higher than the secretarial. If the situation is as bad as Steinem, Margaret Sloan, and others make it out to be, a certain problem must exist. The question is whether women's lib offers anything resembling a solution to whatever this problem is.

It is difficult to find out exactly what the problems are. Words begin to lose their meaning when abused to too great a degree. To use such words and phrases as "oppression", "castes", "deeply racist", and "sexist" is absurd, but, when accepted, it becomes justification for concluding that revolution is the answer. Revolution, not reform, is their goal, says Gloria Steinem.

Here is where I note disturbing implications. Anthropological, sociological, and even biological assertions indicate much more than simple changes in one's views of women's abilities. When Gloria Steinem says she does not come as a leader since the women's movement does not follow the traditional hierarchy, she adumbrates a complete restructuring of modern society.

That most feminists embrace socialism I see as no accident. Both socialism and feminism attempt to replace a competitive system with one that provides for more "humanistic" values. In place of a competitively determined structure based on distinction, both doctrines look toward a certain vicious equality -- an equality in the worst sense, that does not provide for variety or distinctions. In economics we have equal wealth; in male-female relations we have unisex. Whether the male or the female is on top doesn't matter -- they're both equal except for isolated functions.

Another rather disturbing aspect came out at the Women's Festival speeches in Margaret Sloan's remark that lesbians are the avant-garde of the women's movement. The avant-garde is not merely a bizarre group experimenting with new ideas; it means the vanguard, those who lead. The inference I draw is that lesbianism is to be the wave of the future, and today's homosexuals are ahead of their time. This is quite an assertion, one we ought not to forget when considering the implications of the women's movement.

These implications I reject and, in doing so, it seems I must reject the whole movement as movement. I will certainly oppose what I consider to be unfair discrimination, but I cannot subscribe to the idea of a women's liberation movement for such an organization is unable to avoid the excesses and radical errors that mass movements are prone to make.

"DRAMATIC INWARDNESS" — MARK STRAND PRESENTS HIS POETRY

By STANLEY FIELDS

Mark Strand, who will be teaching at the Bread Loaf Writer's Conference next summer, read selections from his works at the Stratton Poetry Reading on December 1st. His collections of poetry, which include **Sleeping With One Eye Open**, **Reasons for Moving**, and **Darker**, reveal, according to Robert Pack, "a dramatic inwardness," the mystery of self confronting the self."

Though they were all distinctly poetic, Mr. Strand's readings often did not sound like poetry. "The Whole Story" described his feelings when another poet whose opinion he had sought, sent Mr. Strand a letter, which criticized his tendency to repeat himself within a poem, writing that if one sees a fire outside a train window there is no need to say "I see a fire outside the window." Yet Mr. Strand's reply to the letter does precisely this.

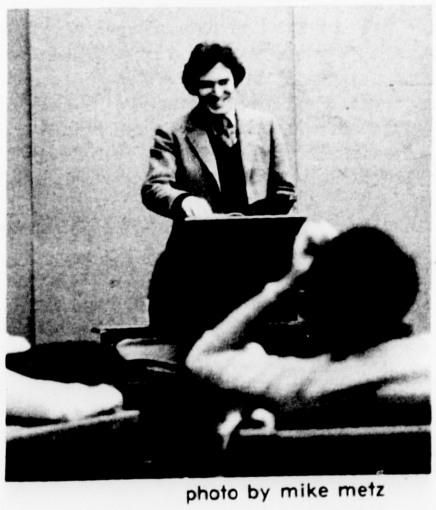


photo by mike metz

Mr. Strand also read two translations of Pablo Neruda's poems, both filled with powerful images. One depicted a washer woman "washing and washing at night," and the other detailed the beauty of "two wool socks in winter." But, Mr. Strand commented wryly, "Neruda does tend to repeat himself."

The most fascinating of the poems which Mr. Strand read was "The Story of Our Lives" which is about two people reading a book about themselves, a "book more accurate than we can imagine." When the narrator of the poem turns the page, he reads in the book that he has turned the page; for there is "no more to our lives than the story of our lives." The two hope that there is a perfect moment in the book, which would be the last, but nothing happens. "They are the book and they are nothing else," concludes the poem.

Mr. Strand finished with a reading of "Elegy for My Father." "The life you wanted...the life you had...nothing could stop you"—the poem is a question to his father, and asks why he would not stop with his dying. His father tried to get rid of his heavy shadow but every place gave it back. The poet tells him, "your shadow is yours...I give it back." And now it is the new year and nobody knows his father for "There is silence instead of a name."

photo by mike metz

Student Brass Quartet, Choral Ensemble Present Thurs. Series

By LEE LUMPKIN

Last week's Thursday Series presentation took place in Mead Chapel, and was performed by Middlebury students. A brass quartet with Art Deske, Jim Anderson, Scott Helmers, and Bob Hutton began the program with five classical pieces, which were all done with exceptional clarity.

The Middlebury Student Choral Ensemble presented the rest of the evening's program. The first song was "Almighty and Everlasting God", written by Orlando Gibbons. "Furwahr, Furwahr! Er Trug Unsre Krankheit", by Carl Graun and "Quam Pulchra Es" were the next two songs. These three pieces were conducted by John McDonald.

The second half of the choral program began with "All meine Herzgedanken, op. 62, no. 5," by Johannes Brahms. The last two songs were contemporary pieces by Samuel Barber which were very unusual and very interesting to listen to. These last three songs were conducted by Timothy Rowe.

The Middlebury Choral Ensemble consists of 23 people, and it was apparent that they went through a lot of preparation to present this program.

REVOLUTIONARY LOVE VS. REVOLUTIONARY DECADENCE

By SID GOULD

It would be very hard indeed for me to communicate my absolute disgust and pessimism towards Western society; when I try I usually end up ranting about my pet hates: Walter Cronkite, "Ginger Ale tastes like love", and so on. And so in this article I will confine myself to general topics; I believe that this society is totally corrupt and that it is unchangeable.

Its corruptness can be measured in two ways; first by the amount of junk that is manufactured and bought such as hula hoops and minibikes, weighed with remaining social injustices such as 20% of the American population at or below the poverty level; second, by the quality of television, i.e. daring to make a statement like "coke is the real thing." Its unchangeability either by political means or cultural means is obvious.

The recent election demonstrates that people are very content with a society that could easily feed everyone but won't in order to produce worthless junk; any attempt at reorganizing the government would be met with harsh, popular disapproval. Chances for cultural change are even slimmer—bell bottoms and striped ties, doing your own thing and being yourself do not make a cultural revolution. On the contrary, they reinforce the present way of living by becoming part of the pop culture—mass, shallow, marketable, unindividualistic by definition, affected, unreal. If you are looking for a more intellectual argument along these lines see Marcuse's **One Dimensional Man** but I don't think that it is necessary to go beyond saying that with a populace that averages more than 5 hours of TV a day, a change in man's nature for the better, from materialist to idealist, is not likely.

The argument I am making goes beyond a case against the possibilities of changing this society; it goes all the way to saying that there may be no way for individuals to transcend society for themselves: to live free from the one dimensionality of "you are what you consume," to really be whatever you are. People have suggested that the artistic tendency is truly revolutionary, but I am doubtful. Art reinforces the culture: it sells, it is admired, it decorates. As for the artist who arts alone, keeping his work from the mass society, I am even more suspicious. For the impulse to create is dependent on alienation or misery; in short, the artist is a victim of society who lives wretchedly and is incurably unhappy with himself. Though he may achieve moments of true transcendental elation, as opposed to false or pop elation, his life is measured by the degree to which he has let his society ruin him. Transcendence must mean the triumph of a life; the artist must make himself the artist of his own self.

Other suggestions for transcendents have included crime and suicide. But both, again, demonstrate that one has become the victim, rather than the conqueror, of the society. If one were able to steal, murder, and rape without getting caught, then, I suppose one would triumph, as society will never make these part of the mass culture. However, it is doubtful, with modern police techniques, that one could be a successful criminal for long.

It would seem that I am arguing that there is no way out, that there is no way that one can be one's self, not the self society wants you to be. I do not. I suggest that there are two ways to put one's own stamp on one's own life, to make it truly revolutionary.

Felix Rohatyn and the ITT Story

By STEPHEN EARLY

Stephen Early, Class of '71 and former Editor of The Campus, has just completed a year as Field Secretary for the American Friends Service Committee in Vermont. He is currently a first year student at the Antioch School of Law in Washington, D.C.

I. INTRODUCTION

"Anything that helps to promote social responsibility in this country---every citizen has to be for it."
---Felix G. Rohatyn at Middlebury College on October 30, 1971

"Look at it this way. America is run largely by and for about 5,000 people... maybe 2,5000 megacorporation executives, 500 politicians, lobbyists and Congressional committee chairmen, 500 investment bankers, 500 partners in major accounting firms, and 500 labor brokers...The 5,000 appoint their own successors, are responsible to nobody. They treat this nation like an exclusive whorehouse especially designed for their comfort and kicks. The President of these United States, in their private view, is head towel boy. They prefer clever flunkies, who, like most of the present White House gang, are so slippery they can enter a telephone booth and leave by the side door."
---Robert Townsend, author of "Up the Organization" and former colleague of Felix Rohatyn at ITT-Avis.
(N.Y. Times Book Review, April 30, 1972, p. 24)

When a group of concerned students at Middlebury College invited Trustee Felix Rohatyn to participate in a forum on corporate responsibility last October, little did they know what a prize they had on their hands.

Cursory research had revealed Mr. Rohatyn to be a man of impressive business credentials: senior partner in the investment banking firm of Lazard Freres & Co., Governor of the New York Stock Exchange, Director of International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, Englehart Minerals and Chemicals, and others. He was known furthermore as the most liberal of the Middlebury Trustees, as a backer of Eugene McCarthy in 1968, and as a man with "some very radical ideas," according to Dean of the College Dennis O'Brien.

How radical Mr. Rohatyn's ideas really are became apparent in the course of the corporate responsibility discussion last Fall. Like the other members of the Middlebury Board, he opposed College support of Campaign GM, the Ralph Nader-sponsored effort to reform the nation's largest corporation. He argued that the College should not use its influence as a shareholder in any reform-oriented proxy contests. Mr. Rohatyn urged instead that investors with a conscience (though not Middlebury College) invest in so-called "clean stocks"--in companies whose records showed them to be "good corporate citizens."1

One can only wonder whether he had his own company, International Telephone and Telegraph, in mind when he offered this bit of advice. For at the same time Mr. Rohatyn was lecturing students at Middlebury about socially responsible investing and good corporate citizenship, ITT was submitting to the White House a detailed plan to bring about the overthrow of the freely elected socialist government of Chile.2 That government, headed by Dr. Salvador Allende, had taken over ITT holdings in Chile worth an estimated $153 million. ITT responded to this action by proposing that the Nixon Administration and the CIA help subvert the Chilean armed forces, begin a campaign of economic warfare against Allende, and encourage other countries to do the same.

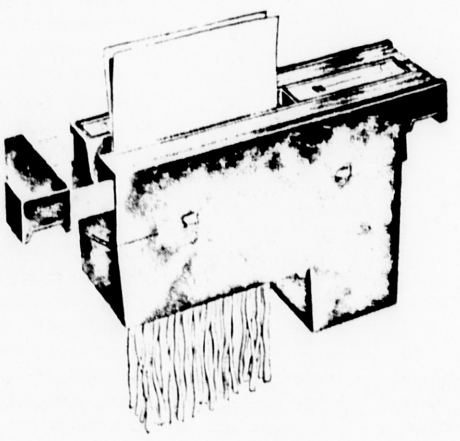
Although the Nixon Administration declined to take these steps in the case of Chile, events less than five months later revealed ITT to be not only an economic imperialist but a giant corporation with major influence on the domestic scene as well. And this time, Felix Rohatyn himself was right at the heart of the matter.

II. "FELIX THE FIXER": ITT SETTLES AN ANTI- TRUST SUIT

When Brit Hume of columnist Jack Anderson's office called Felix Rohatyn to verify the now famous memo by an ITT Washington lobbyist linking ITT's cash pledge to the Republican National Convention and the out-of-court settlement of a Justice Department suit against the company, ITT Director Rohatyn is said to have replied: "That's absolute bullshit."3

It didn't turn out to be. Dita Beard's memo and Anderson's disclosure of it last Spring touched off a wide-ranging public controversy that delayed and sometimes threatened to block Senate confirmation of Richard Kleindienst as President Nixon's new Attorney General. The ITT-Justice Department scandal touched numerous high-ranking Nixon Administration officials, including Kleindienst, out-going Attorney General John Mitchell, former Justice Department trust-buster (now federal judge) Richard McLaren, Presidential advisor Peter Flanigan, and others; it also revealed the enormous influence and shocking arrogance of ITT, and raised important questions about the concentration of corporate power in America and the political nature of Justice Department justice.

At issue were the immediate circumstances surrounding the settlement of three government anti-trust suits brought against ITT in August, 1969, to prevent its acquisition of the Canteen Corporation of America, Grinnell Corporation and Hartford Fire Insurance Company. The Justice Department sought to show that the mergers, actually or potentially, affected competition in specific markets due to the economic strength of ITT and that such an increase in aggregate concentration af assets in a company among the top 200 corporations affected competition generally. The suits were instigated by the Assistant Attorney General in charge of the Anti-trust Division, Richard McLaren. They were subsequently settled out of court after a series of complex private negotiations between McLaren, Attorney General Mitchell, his deputy Mr. Kleindienst, and top officials at ITT, including the company's President, Harold Geneen, and its investment banker, Rohatyn. The resulting consent decree forced ITT to give up the Canteen Corporation, part of Grinnell, and other holdings, but allowed it to keep Hartford Fire, thereby ratifying the largest conglomerate merger in U.S. history.



Mrs. Beard's memo did not by itself prove that the case was settled on terms favorable to ITT solely because of the company's pledge to help finance the 1972 Republican Convention with a $400,000 contribution from its Sheraton Hotel subsidiary in San Diego. In fact, ITT's offer of money was probably only a sweetener. (As one writer put it: "An item like that for ITT is like sending a bottle of liquor to your friend at Yuletide.") It was little more than a tip, not an outright bribe, a gesture of goodwill that was nevertheless part of a larger and more concerted effort to quash the anti-trust action.

Central to that effort was Felix Rohatyn, the man instructed by the ITT President Geneen to make the company's case before Justice Department officials. Rohatyn met with Deputy Attorney General Kleindienst no less than six times in early 1971. Kleindienst in turn arranged the crucial meeting in April of that year between McLaren and Rohatyn at which the latter argued that ITT's loss of Hartford Fire might cause the company to fold, might throw the stock market into chaos, depress the economy and hurt the already hurting U.S. balance of payments.

McLaren, incredibly enough, claimed that he had never really considered these possibilities until Rohatyn raised them. After studying the opinion of an "independent financial expert" (another Wall Street investment banker whose report on the matter was commissioned by the White House business advisor Flanigan), he decided to settle the case out of court. ITT was thus spared divesture of Hartford Fire Insurance and the Justice Department lost the chance to test the Clayton Anti-trust Act against conglomerate corporations, a move that McLaren had previously favored regardless of economic or financial hardship pleas from the company involved.4 (The report commissioned by Flanigan, incidently, made no claim about the effect of divesture on the balance of payments or the economy as a whole. It merely predicted that "the price of ITT stock would decline, the corporation's ability to pay common stock dividends would be impaired and it would be more difficult for the corporation to borrow money."5 None of these are grounds for dropping an anti-trust suit.)

Meetings between government officials charged with enforcing anti-trust laws and big businessmen affected by them are not at all uncommon.6 Nor are the consent decrees, or out-of-court settlements, that frequently result from these consultations. In fact, over 80% of all anti-trust actions are settled this way. What was unusual about Mr. Rohatyn's meetings with Mssrs. Kleindienst and McLaren---apart from Mr. McLaren's dramatic change of mind---was the fact that Kleindienst lied about them, or at least tried to cover up the extent of his own involvement.

In December, 1971, five months after the settlement of the ITT-Hartford case was announced, Kleindienst denied having anything to do with the outcome; in a letter to Democratic National Committee Chairman Lawrence O'Brien, who had publicly questioned the coincidence of the anti-trust settlement and ITT's convention pledge, he stated that the settlement was handled exclusively by McLaren and his staff. In March, 1972, after Anderson broke the story of Mrs. Beard's memo and Rohatyn's meetings with Kleindienst came to light, the then Acting Attorney General asked to appear before a special session of the Senate Judiciary Committee to answer Anderson's charges of impropriety. (The Committee had just finished considering his nomination to the post of Attorney General which was left vacant when John Mitchell resigned to lead President Nixon's re-election drive.) Kleindienst testified at the hearing with Felix Rohatyn at his side. He acknowledged their meetings but denied ever having "influenced the settlement of government anti-trust legislation for partisan political reasons."

Mitchell, for his part, also foreswore any knowledge of deals with ITT and "declared that he was not involved in any way with the Republican National

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1 See *Middlebury Campus*, November 4, 1971, pp. 1, 4, 5, 10.

2 *The New York Times*, July 3, 1971, p. 3.

3 Brit Hume, "Checking Out Dita Beard's Memo", *Harpers*, Aug. '72.

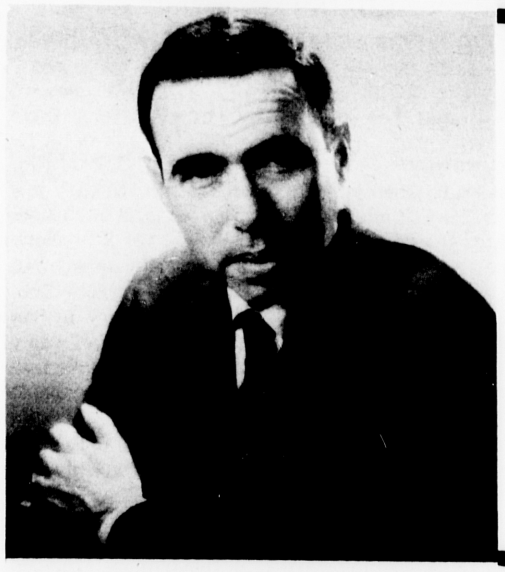
4 *New York Times*, March 24, 1972, p. 1.

5 *New York Times*, April 18, 1972, p. 1.

6 As an editorial in the *N.Y. Times* noted on March 16, 1972: "...this is precisely what is wrong with the way anti-trust laws are enforced. These private meetings circumvent the entire judicial process; they freeze out the professional lawyers and economists who have spent months—in some cases, years—investigating and preparing major cases; they exclude the public from knowing what considerations influenced the decision on the part of Government to settle; they exclude other interested parties—including business competitors, stockholders and consumers—who should have a right to know why a settlement was made and a chance to intervene, if they wish.

"The entire secret process substitutes rule by men for rule by law..."

PORTRAIT IN POWER



Felix Rohatyn, a member of the Board of Directors of ITT, a General Partner of Lazard-Freres Investment Banking House, a member of the Board of Governors of the New York Stock Exchange, and a Trustee of Middlebury College, was asked by a group of concerned students to come to Middlebury and explain his role in the ITT-Justice Department scandal of last spring.

He has accepted that offer, and will be coming sometime during winter term. The purpose of this article is to familiarize students with the ITT-Justice Department case in order to be better prepared for the discussion with Mr. Rohatyn.

Committee Convention negotiations and had no knowledge of anyone from the Committee or elsewhere dealing with International Telephone and Telegraph." This seemed an unlikely tale from the start, considering the prominent role Mitchell had played in 1972 campaign planning even before he relinquished the Attorney Generalship. Jack Anderson quickly turned up a statement by Ed Reinecke, Lt. Governor of California and a Republican, to the effect that Mitchell had known of ITT's convention pledge prior to the anti-trust settlement.

Mitchell was subsequently also forced to admit that he had met with ITT President Geneen in August, 1970, and Felix Rohatyn on April 29, 1971, to discuss general anti-trust policy with regard to conglomerates---but not, he maintained, the specifics of the ITT case. This story too was greeted with "skepticism" by members of the Senate Judiciary Committee. Rohatyn had met with Mitchell twice on the same day he was discussing ITT's anti-trust problems with Kleindienst so, as Anderson wrote,"the Senators were asked to believe that an ITT director, in town to discuss the most crucial law suit in the company's history, would float freely from floor to floor in the Justice Department never telling one official the subject of his meeting with another."7

ITT's response to Anderson's revelations was to deny any deal-making whatsoever. The company's initial statement insisted that "neither Mrs. Beard nor anyone else except legal counsel was authorized to carry on negotiations" relating to anti-trust suits. This, of course, flatly contradicted Rohatyn's admission that he had conferred repeatedly with Kleindienst while ITT's lawyers carried on parallel meetings with McLaren and his staff. Could Rohatyn's meetings with Kleindienst be considered negotiating sessions? Senator Phillip Hart (D-Mich.) asked just this question of Rohatyn when he appeared with Kleindienst before the Judiciary Committee.

"I did not think I was negotiating a settlement, sir," Rohatyn replied.

"What did you think you were doing," said Hart, "giving an economics course?"

"I was trying to make an economic case, sir, of hardship."8

III. THE ITT - LAZARD FRERES STORY

Why should an acquisitive, profit-hungry corporate giant with an overseas empire, a record growth rate, and $6.7 billion in assets, be pleading economic hardship in its dealings with the government? The answer lies in the story of ITT's rapid rise to the top of the business world on the crest of a $30 billion merger wave that made the 1960's the greatest period of corporate concentration in American history. The story of ITT's rise is also the story of Felix Rohatyn; he and ITT's hard-driving president Harold Geneen---more than anyone else---have made the company what it is today. Both men figure prominently in the hundreds of pages of testimony and documents compiled by the House Judiciary Sub-committee on Anti-Trust in its 1969 investigation of conglomerate corporations.9 As the Sub-committee's staff report showed, the "major thrust" of ITT's acquisition program came after Rohatyn's appointment as Director, and his investment banking firm, Lazard Freres, has handled all of its largest mergers. These have involved a whole series of complicated deals at which Felix Rohatyn is particularly adept and of which his "fix" of the Justice Department suit was only the most widely publicized.

ITT began modestly enough as an American holding company for foreign telephone equipment and communication service operations. Less than fifteen years ago it was still largely foreign-based---a kind of oversea Bell Telephone, to which it is unrelated. ITT changed rapidly when Harold Geneen became President in 1959. (He later assumed the chairmanship as well). Geneen, a former accountant and top executive with Bell & Howell, Jones & Laughlin, and Raytheon Manufacturing, launched the company on an ambitious policy of growth. With management techniques that earned him a reputation for ruthlessness throughout American industry, he reorganized the company, set out to double its sales and earnings within five years, and increase the proportion of earnings derived from domestic operations.

ITT reached Geneen's goals and has continued to expand along the same lines ever since. But, like other conglomerates, it achieved its fantastic (10% annual) growth rate not through investment in new productive plants and equipment, but by buying up leading firms in different industries. Between 1964 and mid-71, it absorbed no fewer than 98 companies. The largest and most lucrative of these were: Federal Electric and Gillifan Company, (large defense contractors in California); the Continental Baking Company, (the leading producer of bakery goods in the U.S., makers of Wonder Bread and Hostess Twinkies); Lewitt & Sons, (the largest home builder in the nation); Avis (the second largest rent-a-car service in the U.S.); Hartford Fire and Casualty Insurance Company (one of the country's leading insurance groups); and the Sheraton Company of America, (the largest owner and operator of tourist hotels in the U.S. and Canada.

During the 1960's, ITT increased its sales and revenues from $811.4 million to almost $6.4 billion; it acquired far more capital assets than any other conglomerate during the same period. In addition, its profits rose from $30 million in 1960 to more than $350 million ten years later, making it the eighth largest industrial corporation in the U.S., according to **Fortune** Magazine's list of the top 500. Today, ITT has close to 300 divisions, subsidiaries, and 350,000 employees in 67 countries around the globe. It owns and operates the Airport Parking Company of America, "one of the world's largest parking companies," with more than 200 facilities at major airports and downtown locations, including hotels and hospitals. And the company is still one of the world's largest manufacturers of telecommunications equipment---most of it made in Europe---and owns telephone companies and wire services on six continents. Along with AT&T, it also holds a large chunk of stock in INTELSTAT, the international communications system.

If Harold S. (Hal) Geneen was the captain of ITT's drive to the top, his navigator was and is Felix Rohatyn, senior partner of the prestigious Lazard Freres & Co., a man widely regarded as one of the most influential people on Wall Street. Rohatyn first came to the attention of ITT when the company was shopping for a car rental agency in 1965. At the time, Rohatyn sat on the board of Avis, whose principal shareholder was Lazard Freres. Shortly after he engineered the stock swap that enabled ITT to acquire Avis, Rohatyn joined ITT's board and Lazard Freres became its major investment banker.

A. ROHATYN AND THE FIRM

"The world of investment banking," writes a New York Times financial reporter,"is powerful and secretive, but none of the handful of wealthy financial houses is quite so powerful or secretive as Lazard Freres & Co."10 Felix Rohatyn, says the Times, had the "good fortune" to join Lazard as a trainee, after graduating from Middlebury College in 1948. The Austrian-born physics major proceeded to "learn the ins and outs of the investment banking field from the firm's senior partner and one of the acknowledged masters of deal-making, Andre Meyer."11 At age 73, with a personal fortune estimated at $200 million, Meyer is a Wall Street legend and "a major force in international financial circles." His 100-year-old firm does little business with the general public, and instead provides a wide range of services to wealthy private and industrial clients.

In a good year, the banking house earns an estimated $15 million to $20 million. The 24 general

CHAIRMAN & PRESIDENT GENEEN
Growth, growth, growth.

7 *Washington Post*, April 6, 1972, p. 11.

8 Brit Hume, op. cit., p. 47.

9 See "Investigation of Conglomerate Corporations a Report by the Staff of the Anti-Trust Subcommittee, House Judiciary Committee, 92nd Congress, 1st Session, pursuant to H. Res. 161, 703 pp. Dated June 1, 1971.

See also the entire volume on ITT reprinted as Part 3 of the Hearings before the Anti-Trust Subcommittee, 91st Congress, November 20, 21, 26, and December 3, 1969.

10 Michael Jenkins, "The Lazard Freres Style", *New York Times*, May 28, 1972, Section 3, p. 7.

11 New York Times, "Man in the News" profile, March 5, 1972, p. 13.

partners and 7 limited partners draw modest salaries but split the profits. "Most of their earnings are then plowed back into their accounts with the firm, reinvested and kept available for the firm's use." As a result, Lazard Freres carries a cash balance of over $7 million and has about $60 million worth of capital. Overall, informed sources estimate that "the firm has about $500 million at its disposal, as well as the vast power that accompanies such money."12 Signs of that power abound. Reports the Times:

> So powerful are Andre Meyer's personal contacts, that the firm proudly produces a list of 29 of his friends that reads like a Who's Who of government and industry. It includes U.S. Senators Jacob K. Javits, Charles H. Percy and Edward M. Kennedy and former Secretaries of the Treasury Henry H. Fowler and Douglas Dillon.
>
> ...In addition to advising Mrs. Aristotle Onassis and other members of the Kennedy family, Mr. Meyer counts among his friends such diverse public figures as Lyndon Johnson; Giovanni Agnelli, the industrialist who heads Fiat, the giant Italian auto company; and David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Corporation. 13

Lazard partners sit on the boards of over sixty corporations, among them the largest in the country. Rohatyn alone is a director of ITT, Hownet Corporation, Owens Illinois, Inc., Pfizer, Inc., Englehard Minerals and Chemicals, and others. More significantly, as a governor of the New York Stock Exchange and chairman of the Exchange's Surveillance Committee, Rohatyn personally played a crucial role in preventing any major brokerage houses from going bankrupt in late 1970 and early 1971, "one of the bleakest periods of financial crisis in the securities industry." "The "crisis" committee's work definitely helped to save the N.Y. Stock Exchange," said Bernard J. Lasker, chairman of its Board of Governors at the time. "Frequently Felix would spend entire weekends at my apartment and we would make up to 150 calls a day trying to save firms and put others together."14

When Felix is not saving brokerage houses and putting them back together, he spends mush of his time helping industrial firms grow by gobbling up others. Under Andre Meyer's tutelage he has become "one of the best merger and acquisition men in the business." (As a partner at a rival banking house put it: "Nobody has a record quite as spectacular as Felix's.") The relationship between a fast growing, acquisition-minded corporation like ITT and its investment banker is an especially close one. The investment banker is the company's main financial advisor: he analyzes all merger and acquisition possibilities, decides who can be taken over and how to go about it. If a large sum of money is required for the take-over, the investment banker raises it by piecing together a syndicate of banks for a short term loan, or a group of insurance companies for a long term one. Or the investment banker can arrange an exchange of stock instead.

> "I did not think I was negotiating a settlement, sir," Rohatyn replied.
>
> "What did you think you were doing," said Hart, "giving an economics course?"
>
> "I was trying to make an economic case, sir, of hardship."

The relationship between conglomerates and banking houses is also quite mutually rewarding; the latter have both benefited from and acted as a spur to the merger movement. As veteran investigative reporter I.F. Stone notes:

> The conglomerate opens rich sources of profit, legitimate and illegitimate, to its bankers. Banking officials and partners can play the market on the basis of inside information. The bank derives revenues from all kinds of services as the conglomerate swallows up one business after another. This was the case in the tie between ITT and Lazard Freres. 15

The report of the House Anti-trust Subcommittee corroborates this point. It found that

> During the period 1964 to 1968, Lazard's merger and acquisition function became increasingly important in relation to its other business. From January 1, 1964 through September 5, 1969, it received $16,058,243 in merger fees. During this period, the firm's gross income increased roughly 2 and 1/2 times, 256 percent, while at the same time its income from merger and acquisition services increased nearly 6 times, 584 percent. 16

ITT was the major customer for these services.

B. HOW ITT GOT HARTFORD FIRE

The best example of how ITT and Lazard Freres worked together to expand the profit and power of both was ITT's successful take-over of the Hartford Fire Insurance Company---a deal engineered by none other than Felix Rohatyn. Why was Hartford Fire so important to ITT and why did the corporation go to such lengths to retain it? The headline of the New York Times news story last March 19 tells the story: "In Hartford Insurer, ITT Got Control of a Gold Mine". The Connecticut company is one of the nation's largest property and casualty groups, with assets of more than $2 billion. What ITT wanted was access to its rich stock holdings and enormous cash flow (more than $1 billion per year); it considered these indispensable to its aggressive merger and expansion program.17

Unlike communications companies or manufacturing firms, insurers have huge investment portfolios that generate income in the form of dividends and capital gains when the securities are sold. Big insurance companies tend to be little more than investment trusts; selling insurance is merely a sideline, the bothersome but necessary way they accumulate enough of other people's money to buy valuable real estate and stocks or bonds in industrial corporations. With the money its policy holders pay in premiums, Hartford, for example, has bought close to $600 million in blue-chip corporation stock---including $40 million in IBM and $20 million each in Standard Oil of New Jersey and Texas. What attracted ITT, according to the Times account, was "the visions of millions of dollars pouring in that could be pumped into an unending flow of new investments."18 Also, the sales of Hartford stocks, when the capital gains were reported as operating income, could be used to maintain ITT's inflated rate of profit growth.

So important was Hartford to ITT's future growth and financial stability that Harold Geneen was willing to pay roughly 29 times the insurance company's annual earnings to conclude what was to become the largest merger in American history. Another indication of the deal's importance was ITT's willingness to part with the Canteen Corporation and the Fire Protection Division of the Grinnel Corp. as part of the Justice Department settlement that enabled it to keep Harford. ITT also had to agree to divest itself of four other holdings within three years: Avis, Levitt & Sons, Hamilton Life Insurance and ITT Life Insurance; and it is now barred from any further acquisition of U.S. companies with sales of $100 million or more a year.

According to one group of Wall Street analysts, however:

> ...ITT will still be able to accomplish its growth objectives (10 to 12 percent annually) with Hartford Fire, which already has profits **three times** that of all the areas being divested combined. As for limitations on future acquisitions, it should be noted that I.T.T. has really not made any major acquisitions since Hartford and...these can still be made abroad. 19

Further more, Hartford Fire continues to post annual revenues of more than $1 billion and it provides ITT with profits in excess of $100 million a year, or one quarter of its operating earnings.20

The Justice Department suit was not the only obstacle that stood in the way of ITT's merger with the Hartford Insurance Company. There were two other hurdles: first the merger had to be acceptable to Hartford's managers and stockholders; and second, it had to be approved by Connecticut's Insurance Commissioner, the public official responsible for enforcing the state's 1969 "model statute" designed to protect Connecticut's leading industry, insurance, from take-over raids.

12 Jenkins, op. cit., p. 1.

13 Jenkins, op. cit., p. 9.

14 *New York Times*, Nov. 20, 1970, Section 4, p. 1.

15 I.F. Stone, "Behind the ITT Scandal", *New York Review of Books*, April 6, 1972.

16 Staff Report, p. 151.

17 One item cited in the 1970 Connecticut suit brought by Ralph Nader to block ITT's purchase of Hartford Fire is an executive memo to Harold Geneen which estimates that Hartford "could comfortably invest $250 million of its assets in the acquisition of other companies." ITT Exhibit 5, cited at page 39 of the Nader appeal, No. 166205, Nader v. Cotter, Superior Court, Hartford County.

18 *The New York Times*, March 19, 1972

19 Quoted by Martin Gellen, financial correspondent for Pacific News Service, in "The ITT Conglomerate," *American Report*, March 21, 1972. In line with this, the Nixon Administration has proposed that U.S. corporations be exempt from anti-trust strictures in their overseas operations. This will increase the freedom of multi-nationals, like ITT, to combine abroad, and to take over foreign competitors thereby strengthening the position of U.S. capital against others.

20 "ITT's Big Conglomerate of Troubles", *Time*, May 1, 1972.

As I.F. Stone has observed, "Bribery comes naturally to conglomerates." Hartford stockholders - mostly large banks - were won over by ITT's offer of something called ITT Cumulative Preferred Stock Convertible Series N; in a deal handled by Lazard Freres, they leaped at the chance to exchange a majority of Hartford's 22 million shares for the glamourous ITT issue. Hartford executives meanwhile found the fat stock options and favorable employment contracts offered by ITT equally irresistible, though according to Stone, these favors so "troubled" the Insurance Commissioner, William Cotter, that he initially vetoed the merger on the grounds that they created a "conflict of interest".

The account of how Felix Rohatyn and Harold Geneen managed to change Mr. Cotter's mind (like thay changed Mr. McLaren's) was not revealed at the Senate Judiciary Committee hearings on the Justice Department-ITT settlement. In 1970, when the ITT-Hartford Fire merger decision was still before him, Cotter was a candidate for Congress from Hartford. At the same time, the Democratic administration of the city was suffering the major embarrasment of having failed to raise sufficient funds for a 15 million dollar bond issue it had floated to build a new civic center. According to a brief filed in Hartford Superior Court in January, 1971, by Ralph Nader, who sought to block the merger, Cotter called a meeting with the chairman of the local Democratic Party and the city's corporation counsel to consider alternative means of fund-raising.

What they came up with was interesting. During the meeting Cotter placed a call to ITT headquarters in New York to arrange a conference on May 22, 1970 with Rohatyn and Harold Geneen. The purpose of this meeting: to determine the extent of ITT's interest in building a Sheraton Hotel in Hartford and being a participant in some manner in the construction of the civic center.. ITT, of course was very interested in building another hotel and making a multi-million dollar donation to the city of Hartford so it could have its new civic center. On May 23, 1970, Commissioner Cotter reversed his earlier decision and approved the exchange of stock and other transactions that enabled ITT to acquire Hartford Fire.

Ralph Nader's legal appeal was alone in pointing out the "blatant impropriety" of this procedure. It noted that not only was Mr.Cotter an active candidate for Congress at the time, but that he later reported spending $100,000 on his campaign, a surprisingly large sum for a local election. Like Richard McLaren, who is now a federal judge in Chicago, Cotter went on to bigger and better things after meeting with Felix Rohatyn. He won the election and today represents Connecticut's First Congressional District. Nader's involvement yielded an interesting sidelight to the case: before succumbing to his own "conflict of interest" Cotter told Nader personally that he needed outside help from consumer groups in resisting business pressures to reverse his initial decision on the merger.

C. GAMES WITH THE S.E.C. AND I.R.S.

Not all of the complicated and often shady dealings of Felix Rohatyn and company have escaped public notice or censure. Ralph Nader and his young associate, attorney Rueben Robertson, were among the first people last Spring to raise the question about insider stock sales related to the ITT-Justice Department anti-trust settlement. They claimed that in the weeks prior to the public announcement of the consent decree forcing limited divesture of ITT holdings, Lazard Freres sold hundreds of thousands of shares of ITT stock. The stock was bought by small investors, pension and trust funds for prices ranging from $78 to $83 a share. Immediately after the settlement was announced on July 31, 1971, the price dropped to $69 a share. In all, Nader and Roberts estimated, "the net drop in the market value of ITT stock was about $1.25 billion." The significance of the trading pattern of Lazard Freres and its officers was "the fact that they were privy to vital information concerning the company's anti-trust problems that the public was aware of."21

Despite Rohatyn's intimate involvement in the anti-trust negotiations, Lazard claimed it had no "inside information" and had sold the stock only at the request of customers, not on its own behalf. The evidence in the case of several top officers at ITT was so clear that the Securities and Exchange Commission later brought suit against two of them. It was settled in June, 1972, and the officials, Howard J. Abel, senior, vice-president and general counsel of ITT, and John J. Nave, secretary and counsel for corporate affairs, were forbidden by injunction to engage in similar inside selling again.

There were no further penalties in the case, but at least ten private suits for damages against the company—based on the same allegations as those made by the SEC---are still pending. One of these, brought by a Scarsdale, New York lawyer, dealt with another part of the SEC case which charged that Lazard Freres had acted illegally in a complicated transaction designed to render non-taxable the stock transfer that enabled ITT to acquire Hartford Fire. The details once again give testimony to the nature of the firm's activities.

In October, 1968, ITT bought about 1.3 million shares of Hartford common stock from several West Coast Mutual fund groups. The price was not disclosed but the stock, representing less than six percent of Hartford's total, was then worth $60 million. Two months later, ITT announced plans to take-over the insurer via the exchange of stock involving the 22 million shares of Series N Preferred. In order to qualify for an Internal Revenue Service ruling giving the stock swap tax-free status, ITT had to sell its Shares of Hartford Common. Tax-free status meant that shareholders of Hartford could exchange their stock for ITT's new issue without having to pay a capital gain tax. This mainly benefited the big banks and other institutional investors who traded in their Hartford shares and made a killing on the deal; the Rockefeller Foundation, for example, saw the value of its traded-in shares increase from $2.9 to $10.5 million almost overnight.

Tax regulations clearly state that when a company like ITT is forced to divest itself of stock in order to move ahead with this type of merger, it must do so with no "strings" attached to the stock. The sale of the Hartford Common, however, was handled by Lazard Freres. As noted earlier, this firm has extensive connections in world business and financial circles---including those which allow it to circumvent any "unconditional sale" restrictions. The 1.7 million shares of Hartford Common stock owned by ITT in November, 1969 were sold to Mediobanca, Italy. This bank then converted the shares into ITT Series N Preferred and quickly sold it to the Dreyfus Fund of New York. 22

Personal ties no doubt played an important role in the deal as well as a possible quid pro quo. Andre Meyer is a director of Fiat, the Italian auto maker, which is closely tied to Mediobanca; Felix Rohatyn is a close friend and associate of Dreyfus Fund President Howard Stein who, with Rohatyn, was a major fund-raiser for the 1968 Presidential campaign of Senator Eugene McCarthy. In mid-1970, the Dreyfus Marine Midland Corporation, an affiliate of the Dreyfus Fund, was named by ITT to manage an estimated $10 million in ITT pension fund assets. The award was somewhat remarkable in that Dreyfus-Marine Midland was a new pension management concern and had no proven record of performance. With the ITT account, though---which still represents 5% of its pension business---Dreyfus-Marine Midland would presumably have less trouble attracting similar awards.

Not everyone was happy with the arrangement. The suit mentioned previously, a class action on behalf of Dreyfus Fund shareholders, was brought against the Dreyfus Corporation, parent of the fund, by lawyer Leon Segan. It accuses Dreyfus of using the mutual fund to gain business for its new affiliate; in the course of this, the stockholders are said to have suffered. The suit claims that the Dreyfus Fund's total net assets declined by more than $400 million from 1969 to 1971. It charged further that "the losses were due in substantial part to the failure of some of the defendents named in the suit to properly perform their fiduciary obligations to the Dreyfus Fund."23 The defendents included Howard Stein and several of his associates. Named also were Lazard Freres & Company, Andre Meyer, and Felix Rohatyn.

"When a Communist can win a free election, I say there's something wrong with free elections!"

The New Yorker, April 24, 1971.

IV. ITT ABROAD: A SUPRANATURAL GOVERNMENT

If ITT has depended on Lazard & Co. or Felix Rohatyn personally to expedite its problems with domestic agencies like the Justice Department, the Connecticut Insurance Commission, or the IRS, it has had to rely on much more to maintain its position abroad. Not the least of its defenses is the overseas presence of the U.S. military which ITT wholeheartedly supports as a major defense contractor. Ranked among the top 25 military producers in the country, ITT has pulled in an average of $240 million a year in military contracts over the past four years. A long-time manufacturer of electronic and communications systems and services for the military, it has also developed and produced sophisticated radar, navigation, surveillance, and communications equipment specifically for use in the Vietnam war. ITT components have supplied what the Air Force calls the "Electronic Battlefield"---a system of automated warfare that has claimed the lives of thousands in Indochina.24

With foreign investments of more than $2.2 billion in Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and Asia---and plans to invest $600 million more abroad---ITT depends on economic as well as military assistance.

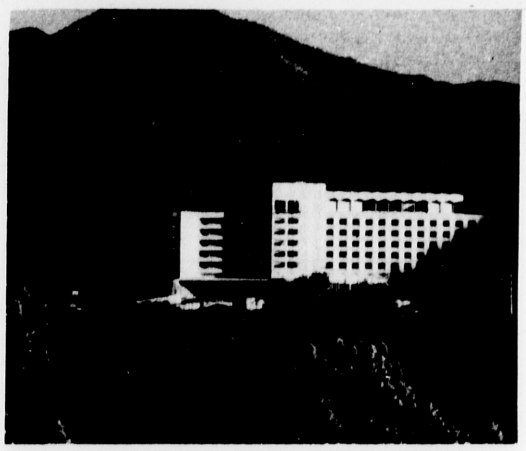
21 *The Washington Star*, April 5, 1972, p. 7.

22 *The New York Times*, March 26, p. 52.

23 *New York Times*, April 15, 1972, p. 38.

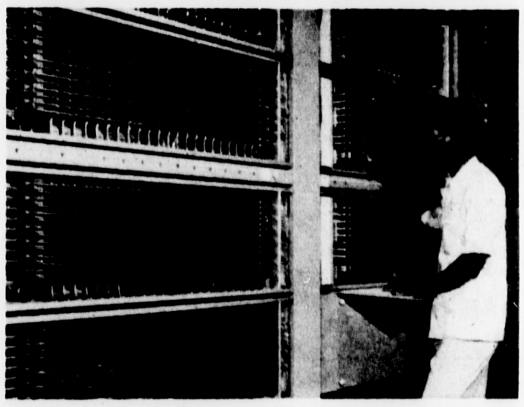
24 For the full story of ITT's war contracting, see: "ITT—Military Business and Technological Warfare," a 33-page brief prepared by the Corporate Information Center of the National Council of Churches, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

MONTHLY MEETING OF INTERNATIONAL TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH EXECUTIVES IN BRUSSELS



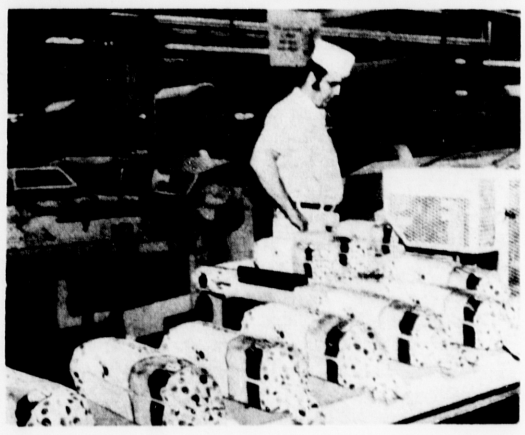
SHERATON SAN CRISTOBAL IN SANTIAGO, CHIL

ITT SWITCHING FACTORY IN MADRI



ITT TELECOMMUNICATIONS EXCHANGE IN ABIDJAI

WONDER BREAD LINE IN THE U.S



The Overseas Private Investment Corporation, a government-backed agency, currently insures up to 70% of its phone company holdings in South America, Iran, and Southeast Asia.25 In the past, ITT has filed claims against the Agency for International Development and the OPIC for the loss of property seized by nationalist and socialist regimes in Peru, Cuba, Ecuador, Chile, and the People's Republic of China. According to a 1967 report Nicholas Johnson of the Federal Communications Commission, the hostility shown by these governments has merely reflected "widespread public resentment over the company's failure to improve its inadequate service."

A company with total revenues greater than the Gross National Product of several countries in which it does business is not just another big U.S. corporation taking advantage of poorer nations. As reporter James Ridgeway notes: "It is nearly a supranatural government." Where other companies send lobbyists to influence the affairs of local governments, ITT, says Ridgeway, "sends ambassadors who ply a secret international diplomacy."26 A look at the list of directors and officials involved in ITT's foreign holdings would indicate that the company carries its own form of private insurance against nationalization and other threats to its operations. At one point several years ago, the list included three members of foreign legislative bodies, an ex-premier, numerous former ministerial officials, and a small array of journalists turned publicists, including a one-time Pulitzer Prize winner. Sitting on ITT's central directorate are John McCone, former director of the CIA, and Eugene R. Black, former president of the World Bank---two men whose organizations have been prominent instruments of American foreign policy since the end of the Second World War.

Documents released by Jack Anderson last March indicate that McCome's role with the CIA is not entirely in the past. According to Anderson, the ex-agency head was personally involved in ITT's attempt to prevent Marxist Dr. Salvador Allende from taking power in Chile through peaceful elections in October, 1970. 27 Anderson's columns were based on 26 internal memorandums leaked to him by someone inside ITT. The documents are filled with references to officials in the White House, State Department, and CIA, several of whom consulted ITT agents about ways and means of intervening in Chile during the Fall of 1970. At one point the company considered triggering a military coup to head off Allende's election. It indicated its willingness to spend "sums up to seven figures" on this effort, which also included plans to disrupt the Chilean economy and create social unrest.

When Anderson's story was first published, ITT immediately denied it had sought to interfere in Chile's internal affairs. The CIA refused to comment and the State Department issued a series of denials, including a statement saying: "Any idea of thwarting the Chilean constitutional process following the election of 1970 were firmly rejected by this Administration." No mention was made about the most important of the ITT memos, written September 17, 1970, to the vice-president of ITT in charge of public relations, E.J. Gerrity. Two of his subordinates in Chile had this news for him: "Late Tuesday night (September 15) Ambassador Edward Kerry finally received a message from State Department giving him the green light to move in the name of President Nixon. The message gave him maximum authority to do all possible---short of a Dominican Republic-type action---to keep Allende from taking power."

Allende survived his first year in office, despite an abortive right-wing plot that took the life of his Army Chief of Staff, Gen. Rene Schneider. ITT persisted, however, and as later evidence indicated, it was still trying to secure government help for new attempts against Allende one year after he took office. The plan this time was outlined in a long letter sent by William R. Merriam, vice-president of ITT in charge of Washington relations, to Peter G. Peterson, then a Presidential advisor on international economic affairs and now the Secretary of Commerce.28

None of this behavior was at all surprising to long-time observors of ITT. What was unusual in this case was that ITT's will, at least for the time being, had been thwarted. And this was no small defeat for the company. As President Geneen himself proudly told a gathering of stockholders several years ago: "ITT has met and surmounted every device employed by governments to encourage their own industries and hamper those of foreigners, including taxes, quotas, currency restrictions, subsidies, barter arrangements, guarentees, moratoriums, devaluations---yes, and nationalizations!"29

> It remains true, nevertheless, that an economy dominated by such self-seeking units is, precisely because of that fact, incapable of producing in the "public interest" or seeking the common good.

V. ITT AND ROHATYN AT HOME

Such boasting on Geneen's part is not at all confined to the international sphere. Nor is his company's power and influence. In the U.S., as we have seen, ITT tends to regard politicians and government officials as just one more investment opportunity. According to a sworn affidavit filed by former vice-president J.T. Nayler, a group of ITT executives made contributions to both parties in 1960 for the express purpose of "buttering both sides so we'll be in good position whoever wins." Nayler also quoted President Geneen as saying this system is "paying off big in Washington."30

No doubt it is. Big business spending on elections has often been scrupulously bi-partisan. A fine example of this is Felix Rohatyn's own political switch-hitting.

25 ITT executive vice-president Hart Perry is a boardmember of the OPIC, which was created under the Nixon Administration to encourage overseas investment and reduce the risks by insuring private investers against expropriation and inconvertibility of assets.

26 James Ridgeway, "The Empire of ITT", *Boston After Dark*, April 4, 1972, p. 1.

27 See Anderson's columns of March 21, 22, 28 and 30, in *The Washington Post*. The revelations contained in them led Senator William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, to announce that his committee would undertake a major investigation of the influence of multi-national corporations on U.S. foreign policy.

28 "Papers Show ITT Urged U.S. to Help Oust Allende", *N. Y. Times*, July 3, 1972, p. 3.

29 As quoted by Ridgeway, p. 24.

30 As quoted by TRB, *The New Republic*, March 22, 1972.

While contributing at least $2,500 to the Presidential primary campaign of Senator Edmund Muskie and serving as Muskie's advisor on financial affairs, Rohatyn was also revealed as a contributor of undisclosed sums to the Republican Party.31 His name appeared, along with Dita Beard's, on a list of "known major contributors" to "Republican Senatorial campaigns in 1970." This, it turned out, was the list Republican national fund-raiser Maurice Stans had used to solicit large amounts of money for President Nixon's re-election drive before the cut-off date when candidates would henceforth have to publicly disclose their financial backers. Other names of those who were presumably tapped included multi-millionaires Robert O. Anderson, Henry Ford II, Helen Clay Frick, Richard M. Scaife, and W. Clement Stone.

One might easily speculate on why the name of a $29,000 a year lobbyist like Dita Beard appeared on a list of big campaign contributors like this. It is doubtful that she personally acted as anything but a conduit for donations that ITT is legally prohibited from making directly. Rohatyn, of course, is in a better position to contribute heavily from his own personal fortune and Harold Geneen is in a better position yet. Geneen received a slight wage boost last year so his salary from ITT is now 812,494 a year. For serving as both President and Chairman of the Board, he also recieved an option to buy 33,334 shares of ITT stock at a special price---$1,125,022 for shares whose market value was $1,920,872. This additional $795,850 in stock values brought his total annual income from ITT alone up fo $1,562,344. (Geneen himself has said that he is actually worth several times that to the company.)

What are some of the other results of this massive concentration of wealth and power in institutions like ITT and a few individuals like Rohatyn and Geneen? First is the effect of monopoly itself. Though Geneen would claim that his company is better managed and more efficient than any number of small and medium-sized firms, the House Judiciary Sub-committee on Anti-trust concluded that this is not true of ITT or other conglomerate giants. By the rules of the capitalistic game they certainly should be more efficient: their advertising is vaster, their unit costs smaller, their pricing power stronger, their ability to transcend laws of supply and demand and even government controls is far greater. Yet the prices they charge remain the same (or higher), while their tax rate tends to be lower. In the case of ITT, with loopholes and deductions, less than 25% of its mammoth earnings have gone to current federal and Canadian taxes. This is about half the official 48% tax rate on U.S corporate income.32

Regardless even of the "private" nature of the profit system, the size alone of a corporation like ITT would be enough to breed arrogance and secrecy---and in its spokesmen, a monumental hypocrisy. When he appeared at Middlebury before a group of students and faculty in October, 1971, Felix Rohatyn, for example, sang the praises of smallness in business, of close personal contact and teamwork within a tight-knit group of people. He recalled with fondness his days as Director of Avis Inc., when he and management whiz Robert Townsend rehabilitated the failing auto-rental firm and made it a stiff competitor of Hertz within several years. What he failed to mention was that Avis was then sold to ITT and absorbed into its multi-national empire. But then, the subject of the Middlebury forum was corporate responsibility and the College's role as an institutional investor. And Rohatyn could hardly have lingered on the record of ITT, in which Middlebury also owned stock.

With that record as a reference point some of Rohatyn's statements and positions last Fall now seem interesting indeed. For one, take his assertion that concerned stock-holders and members of the public could find out all they needed to know about a corporation's activities from publicly available sources. This was one of his many excuses for refusing, as a Middlebury Trustee, to back the provision of Campaign G.M. which would have required General Motors to provide hard data on its environmental protection and consumer safety practices, minority hiring record, and franchising policies. (Note: Rohatyn was not alone on the Board of Trustees in this decision. In May, 1971, the entire Board voted against using Middlebury's GM stock proxies to support the Campaign which had the endorsement of both the Student Senate and College Council.)

Knowing what we do now, it is not at all surprising that Rohatyn opposes greater public disclosure of information on corporate policy-making. How could he act otherwise? As partner in Lazard Freres and a Director of ITT he has refused to reveal what merger fees ITT has paid to investment banking houses. No mention of fees to investment bankers appears in the proxy on the ITT-Hartford Fire merger or the offer to Hartford shareholders issued by ITT in 1970. According to Felix Rohatyn, this is confidential information.33 There has been no word from him either on the massive shredding of internal documents by ITT executives that followed the leak of Mrs. Beard's memo. (Portions of this material were said to be far more damaging than anything leaked by Jack Anderaon.) There is also much in the style and substance of Lazard Freres' own activities that would invite close public scrutiny if that were possible.

Not only was Rohatyn opposed to the modest and reform-oriented goals of Campaign GM, but he also criticized its tactics. Shareholder pressure would never work to promote social change, he said, because "it doesn't do anything". Shareholders don't have the power to make their views heard and in the case of Middlebury College and other institutional investors, apparently not even the responsibility to make them heard. Instead of efforts like Campaign GM, Rohatyn suggested that individuals with a conscience invest in "clean stocks" like those handled by the Dreyfus Third Century Fund. By no coincidence, this is another affiliate of Howard Stein's Dreyfus Corporation.

For concerned students, there was always the consumer boycott. At one point, Rohatyn actually suggested that if "you people" stopped buying "Chevies", it would have more effect than things like Campaign GM. He did not say whether he thought the Women's Strike for Peace boycott of Continental Baking products was an effective way to protest ITT's war production. But then, as **Time** magazine pointed out, a person trying to boycott ITT would have to do more than stop eating Wonder bread. Among other things, he (she)

> could not rent an Avis car, buy a Levitt-house, sleep in a Sheraton Hotel, buy Hartford Fire insurance, park in an APCOA, use Scott's fertilizer or seed, or eat Morton Frozen Foods. He would have to turn his eyes away from the advertising posters on commuter trains and buses (ITT owns TDI, the company that rents space for the cards), and he could not have watched any televised reports of President Nixon's visit to China (ITT World Communications coordinated all the transmission). The wealthy and powerful who might wish to avoid contact with ITT would suffer a special privation: they would have to refuse listing in **Who's Who**; ITT owns that too. 34

When someone last Fall finally suggested that boycotts and proxy-fights aside, big corporations in America would not become socially responsible until they were socially owned and controlled, Rohatyn replied,"You mean we'd all have to commit suicide." It was a comment that revealed more about him than anything else he said at Middlebury. It is this very ability to define their own private interests at home and abroad as the public interest that enables the corporate rich to wheel and deal with such equanimity. To Felix Rohatyn, "ITT is not an insubstantial national asset." Therefore it deserves special treatment because if harm comes to it, the entire system will inevitably suffer. To Harold Geneen, the Justice Department's abortive anti-trust suits were designed not only to "destroy" his company, but "the economy and the nation" as well. In a country run by great corporations these attitudes are quite common among those who profit from the existing social and economic order. It remains true, nevertheless, that an economy dominated by such self-seeking units is, precisely because of producing in the "public interest" or seeking the common good.

'right—Miami Daily News

"Thank vou. Operator"

31 Jack Anderson, *Washington Post*, April 6, 1972, p. 11.

32 See "ITT's Small Contribution", *Time*, April 17, 1972, p. 86.

33 *The Boston Globe*, March 21, 1972, p. 10.

34 May 1, 1972, p. 73.

EDITORIAL

There has been a lot of concern at Middlebury recently with the so-called Women's Liberation movement. The talk given here before Thanksgiving by Gloria Steinem and Margaret Sloan highlighted two weeks of consciousness-raising on the part of the college's Woman's Union. Unfortunately, discussion about the rights of women often takes on an antagonistic, and bitter air; it is regrettable that more people (including liberated women) do not realize that the "movement" should ideally be a *People's Liberation* movement which would question the sociological concepts and traditions which have formed our ideas of sex roles and differences.

As a male, I resent being called a "pig" just because I have undergone a socialization process which, until recently, I have been unaware of. Men have received the blame for "oppressing" women, but actually we are as bound by convention as women are—our sex roles are perhaps even more strictly defined. It is frightening to think that ever since childhood I have been taught to value material things more highly than people, sports and competition more highly than the arts or scholastics, emotional coldness more highly than sensitivity, and the list goes on. I have repeatedly been put in the role of the aggressor—in relations with both men and women I have had to *prove* my masculinity in order to be accepted as a person. All through life men are expected to compete and to succeed, to dominate and to provide for, to set examples and to be strong. While I acknowledge that all of these qualities are admirable in both men ***and*** women, I question whether happiness and honesty to one's self ought instead to be the criterion of a man's acceptance as a human being.

This is not to say that I am against the goals of Women's Lib when it comes to equality in education, employment, and marital relations. I do not resent equal pay for females nor would I resent having a woman as a superior in a business situation. If and when I marry, I would expect and demand that my wife be a human being with her own goals and career; it would be dishonest to ask her to subordinate herself to the demands of my life. It is useless, however, to argue the superiority of one sex over another, but it is vital that the humanness and rights of each person be respected.

The Women's Lib movement should, therefore, concern itself not so much with the "plight" of women, but rather with the problems of people, male and female, caught in a social system of assigned roles which they are often unaware of and can do little about individually. Name-calling, self-pity, "revolutionary tactics", and other aspects of the Lib movement are not really essential—they only tend to alienate "unliberated" women and men. Instead, an openminded questioning of our male and female roles, which tend to be a part of our established middle-class identity, seems to be the solution. Only when people become aware of themselves as individuals with distinct qualities and aspirations rather than members of a sex will progress in human rights be made.

RAV

If You Think COLLEGE Is Bad . . .

The following is open letter to the student body from Nancy Stetson, a 1972 graduate of Middlebury:

I would like to share with you my thoughts and reactions to being out of Middlebury since last June. It has not been an altogether pleasant experience, expecially after the thoroughly good one I had in college. The reason for this is largely due to the priorities I personally set. However, many of my friends from Middlebury and from other schools have also had eye-opening and sometimes discouraging experiences. I thought you who are still in college might benefit from an awareness of what some of us who have left have found.

I am sure that I don't have to tell anyone that the job market is tight. If you tried to get a job last summer you know. However, it takes on greater significance when you are trying to establish independence and support yourself. Things aren't so tight that you can't find something to do somewhere. At almost any place at any time there is a need for a gas station attendant, a waitress, a delivery boy, or a typist. But if you want a more permanent position, a stimulating job and the opportunity to be in a place of your choice, you will not find a big selection.

After four years of thinking and learning new ideas, it is depressing to consider devoting eight hours a day to a job that is without intellectual or creative challenge. For a summer that is tolerable, but not for life. Anyone just out of college would seem to have a wide range of opportunities to choose from, but what I fear is that by choosing the wrong one now I may become locked into a dreary career for life. I'd like to show you how a bright future can at the same time be smoggy.

A liberal arts college education is designed to develop the mind. It is a concentrated, rigorous experience that shows and stimulates new ways of thinking. It is by its nature not "relevant" to day-to-day existence, because that would contradict the reason and objectivity of such study. It is not vocational training.

I would not change the liberal arts education, despite the frustration I've had in job hunting. I went into it with full knowledge that it was developing me as a person, not training me for a career. My study of the social sciences, primarily history, have provided me with a framework through and by which I see things.

I feel that my nonacademic activities at college complimented and contributed to the development of my thinking and character. The tutoring I participated in acquainted me with priorities that put education in a minor role. I discovered the importance athletics has in my daily contentment. I came to recognize the importance my geographic surroundings have; during the summers of my college years I chose pleasant locations and menial occupations.

This fall what had seemed to add up so greatly in terms of total personal experience added up to zero on a job resume. I had failed to see the need and therefore get the listable experience and skills necessary to get the kind of job I had pictured myself in. I don't think my picture was too unrealistic, for I did not see myself in any but the bottom of the ladder type of job. Thusfar, I haven't succeeded in even getting that. The conclusion I have drawn from this experience is that only the exceptional person, or the one who had early and specific career ambitions finds that he has what is required to move into the field he desires.

The problem that most of us face is not that we lack the ability to do the job, but that we have no proof of that ability. My case for example. I have decided that I would like to enter journalism. I have some acquaintance with it, because my father is a journalist. I enjoyed researching and writing papers in school, and met with success on them. What I did not do was work on the **Campus**—tangible, listable experience.

Last spring I wrote to quite a number of small papers asking about employment in the summer and fall. No luck. This September I visited almost every daily paper in Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont and several in Massachusetts, and was turned away at every one. "We have no opening at this time and do not foresee any in the future." I have been unable to interest anyone in taking a risk in hiring me, to chance what I know and could learn.

Perhaps graduate school would seem to be the answer. I chose not to go to graduate school immediately after college; I wasn't really sure what I wanted to do. I felt that by working I would discover if and what I should further study. If you know what your career aspirations are, then graduate school can be the logical step toward getting the professional tools for the career. If you are less sure, then I think you should be careful about going on to graduate school. School is fun, a way of life you know about, and thus might be an escape from the decisions and frustrations of a working situation. Also you might find that a masters doesn't get you a job either, or perhaps over-qualifies you.

Someone else in a year or two will have to tell you the relative merits of graduate school right after college. Let me report what some of the '72 grads who did not go to grad school have been doing this fall.

After finding no jobs on newspapers, I determined to try to get two skills that might get me on a paper in any capacity—typing and shorthand. I have taken a short course in secretarial school and in a week will be able to fill out two more spaces on the application.

Among my fellow Middlebury grads there is a female bio major who wanted a job related to her major, but is driving a truck. Another bio major is making French and Spanish tapes and driving a school bus. There is a French major and a history major in secretarial positions in universities in Boston; an economics major and a skier cutting brush on ski trails; a sociology major typing and answering the phone for a ski foundation.

Among my friends from high school I find a girl learning how to repair musical instruments, a teacher at an institution for mentally retarded adults, a French major squeezed out of a teaching internship (master's program) now working as a salesgirl, and a girl who broke her teaching contract because of injury she received on the job now working as a substitute and salesgirl.

I don't think any of us pictured ourselves in these positions last year, if we pictures ourselves anywhere. Some of these jobs are providing experience of the type necessary for advancement toward a career goal, some are dead ends. Some of the kids have been frustrated in attempts to correlate a job with career ambitions while others have not as yet discovered what they want to do.

I think most of then would agree with me, whether they are happy in their present situations or not, that the difference between being in school and out is in finding and being given the chance to learn. In college you can choose a course and learn as much as time, inclination, and availability of material permits. In most cases that is substantial. There seem to be many more obstacles and prerequisites to learning in a working situation. You need to know how before you are hired, because no one has the time to teach you nor can afford to risk their livelihood on what you might learn.

It takes a farsighted individual to make an easy transition into a career from college. Many of us don't have that kind of a life plan worked out at age 22. That means, however, that my friends and I will be following somewhat bumpy courses as we determine what we want for life work. It is just not as direct and clear a path as was the one through school and college. Despite the frustrations, I hope that no one loses faith that each of us does have a bright future.

The Good Olde Days

Reprinted from past issues of **The Middlebury Campus**:

December 3, 1913

Some of the men and women feel that all Saturday night dances should be held in the gym rather than Pearsons Hall. The dance on the coming Saturday night is to be held in Pearsons. How will you prove your point? Will you be boorish and queer the dance by staying away - or will you be chivalrous and attend in such a crowd to prove the unfitness of so small a hall.

December 7, 1944

For the past five months the Navy Blue Panthers have been knocking themselves out at the Lodge, gym dances and wherever a call is sent out for music. All very fine but behind the scenes lie the countless hours on rehearsal, writing arrangements and practicing novelty numbers. From the outside this is all "too fine" — especially when a guy's sole task is to collect a smooth Midd chick, truck on over to the dance, and swing out all night. Jack — when it's as easy as this you can bet your baby rompers that someone has to be the fall guy. In this case it's the musicians who miss week-end dates (we love those girls) and receive little consideration, cooperation, and compensation. The band formerly sending fine music on the downbeat is now on the proverbial downgrade and unless the hepcats on the campus cooperate there will be a two measure modulation to some very sad platter music.

Book Review: The Center of the Cyclone

By RICK HODES

The Center of the Cyclone: By John C. Lilly, M.D.

I was notably skeptical when I picked up **The Center of the Cyclone** and read: "Written for the non-specialist, the narrative style of the new book is designed to permit the interested younger (16-60) reader to keep up a fast pace on his/her first trip through inner space."

John Lilly calls **The Center of the Cyclone** an autobiography of inner space. He introduces the book as "the story of my personal search of some 56 years for meaning in life as we know it." Lilly speaks as one who has been to the highest states of consciousness which he calls satori-samadhi, and one who has returned to report back to those interested. "...Experience of higher states of consciousness is necessary for survival of the human species. If we can each experience at least the lower levels of satori, there is hope that we won't blow up the planet, or otherwise eliminate life as we know it."

Lilly is a psychoanalyst who spent 12 years doing research on dolphin-human relationships including communication. He sees the mind as a tremendous biocomputer. Consciousness may be divided into various states or levels, named satoris. The neutral biocomputer state, the state for absorption and transmission of new ideas, is called 48. Above this are states plus 24, plus 12, plus 6, and plus 3, each indicating a higher level of consciousness, or fusion with the universe.

In 1954 John Lilly decided to experiment with the hypothesis that outside stimulation was necessary to maintain the brain in an awakened state. The obvious experiment was to deprive the human body and brain of as much stimulation as possible, and observe the results.

He conceived of an isolation tank, a tank of warm water in which one could float, devoid of stimulation. Air is supplied through hoses, and the face is masked. After spending tens of hours floating in this, Lilly found that the effect of this on the individual was heightened awareness and increased sensory experience. He passed through dreamlike states, trancelike states and mystical states, while at the same time being conscious of where he was.

Later, in the early 1960's, he took LSD under controlled situations. After one situation, he nearly died as a result of injecting himself with a syringe containing a residual detergent while in the process of givign himself an antibiotic shot.

Lilly was in the hospital for 6 weeks. While lying in a coma, his mind wandered off to a higher plane, where he met two entities. There two guides, points of consciousness, sources of radiance, or love, and of warmth, gave him support and began to teach him. He was overwhelmed by their love, and returned to his body, only to meet them again on LSD, in prayer, and in the tank. Lilly was in the midst of searching for states of consciousness other than the norm, trying to find meaning in life.

Lilly tells of his work with dolphins in the Virgin Islands, details experiments with hypnosis, and describes 2 years spent at the Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California with Fritz Perls. "In the workshops I had not found what I had been hunting for. I had not found any help in my search for explanations of or further accesses to spaces I'd learned about in the isolation tank experiments and with LSD. I had found new spaces having to do with the planetside trip with the help of Fritz Perls and other leaders at Esalen. The missing part was beyond the limits that the Esalen group put on their own experiences, the then current emphasis on the "here and now" and on doing a better job of the planetside trip. In the workshops I took, the mystical side was left out."

Several other things came about, and more recentaly John Lilly spent eight months in Arica, Chile investigating and participating in the Arica Training Group of Oscar Ichazo, "the Master of a modern esoteric school in the mystical tradition." Under Ichazo's guidance, Lilly began classing his experiences according to the Satori levels, or positive states of consciousness. He realized that in coma, near death in 1964, he had been in plus 3, and the episodes with the guides all took place in plus 6, emersed in a point of energy.

Lilly outlines elaborate physical exercises and meditations done in Chile to prepare one for the higher levels of consciousness, and guides the reader into an explanation of the higher states.

As one who is not enlightened enough to be able to coherently judge all this, I cannot say for sure whether this could be called a valuable work in the enlargement of ou lives, or simply esoteric nonsense, although I lean towards the former. In anv case, John Lilly has some valuable insights to the human condition, and the work is challenging and illuminating.

It would be fitting to let Lilly conclude: "As of today I have found no final answers, I am intent on continuing the search. Am I just the leader of 100 billions of connected cells? If so, who elected me leader? Where did the cells come from? If I am more than just the net result of 100 billions of cells living cooperatively, where did I come from?

The miracle is that the universe created a part of itself to study the rest of it, that this part, instudying itself, finds the rest of the universe in its own natural inner realities.

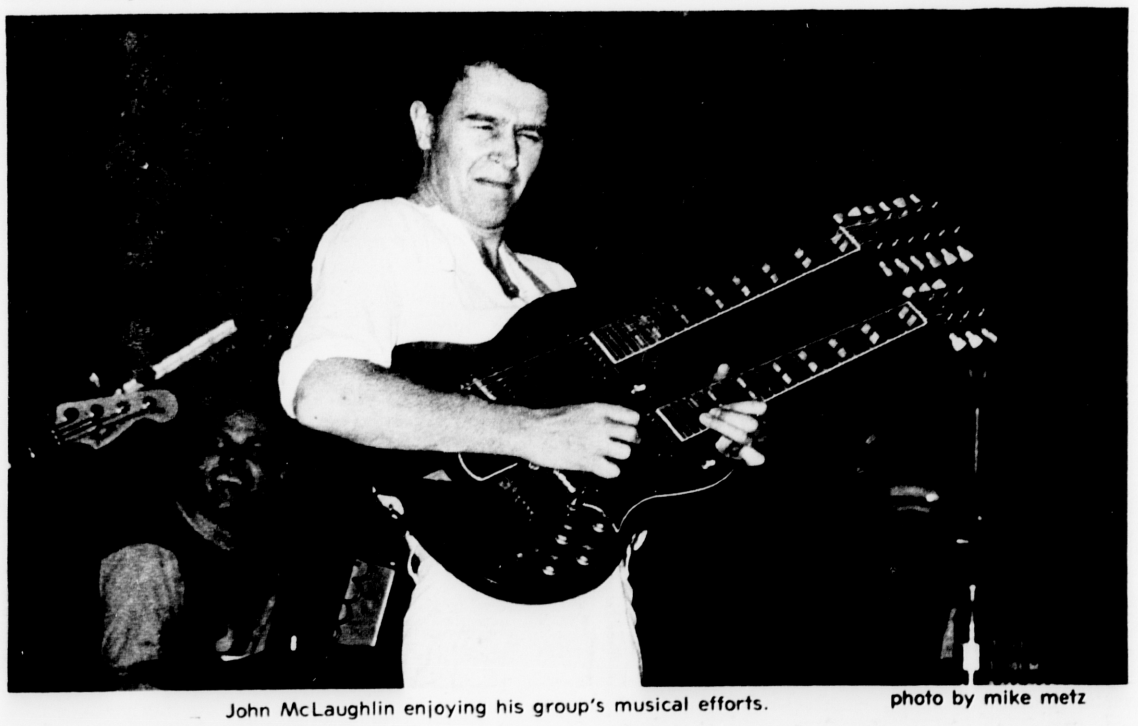
Kottke and Mahivishnu: Meetings of the Spirit

BY BOB SHAW

Kottke walked on looking very casual in a striped shirt and old pants, picked up a G-tuned 12-string announced that Leo Kottke couldn't be here tonight and that he was Helen Keller and launched into a medley of Easter and the Sargasso Sea and Vaseline Machine Gun. His program consisted of most of the Kottke standbys —— and the incredible Kottke head rapping on such various topics as marriage —— "a tedious meal with the dessert at the beginning" —— his uncle's rock, Birdman Gus, "whom you must remember as I first met him rising from his chair, his eyes open, his mouth open and his fly open." and playing guitar with one eye closed so people think you're really good. Which he was —— some lovely picking and bottleneck work on **Louise**, some amazing syncopation on **Beantime**, a really pretty version of Bach's **Jesu Joy of Man's Desiring** on someone's borrowed Martin G string. His geesefart vocals were not much in evidence but were not bad ——**Louise** especially had good vocal work, but Kottke knows where his real strength is and he showed it off well.

Then came Mahavishnu —— McLaughlin as usual dressed completely in white sensed the mood of the crowd well and after saying that "Leo has given us some beautiful music" asked that the audience share a minute of silence in order to help change the mood. It did help but I seriously doubt many people were prepared for what followed. McLaughlin began chording on the 12-string neck of his double neck guitar an the others joined one by one in the first of several new compositions of the evening. This segued into **You Know You Know** from the first album. From the first it was obvious that McLaughlin and his crew were in good spirits and pleased, despite equipment hassles, with their playing.

Jan Hammer especially showed his pleasure dancing all over his electric piano and new synthesizer with an incredible entranced grin on his face. The playing was beyond comprehension at many points —— especially on **Dance of the Maya** which featured Goodman and Hammer trading riffs on the odd-measured blues parody which forms the center of the song, an incredible drum solo from Cobham and that impossible moment when Cobham moves into 5/4 under a high riff from Goodman and McLaughlin and the bass and piano bring in the opening theme again which slowly takes over and brings the piece to a close.



John McLaughlin enjoying his group's musical efforts. photo by mike metz

Leo Kottke in concert

Hearing things like this and the new pieces really made me aware of McLaughlin's great talent as a composer——as Larry Coryell said in a recent **Downbeat** —— the first Mahavishnu album shows McLaughlin the composer much more than McLaughlin the impossible guitarist —— we got both Friday night. I can't say enough about the playing of the other members of the groups —— Goodman was better than I've ever heard him before, Hammer's work with the synthesizer (enabling him to sound exactly like McLaughlin's guitar) amd ring modulator was brilliant, etc., etc. The group was tight —— inhumanely tight —— twice totally upsetting my mental balance by having a continuous improvising guitar sound moving from synthesizer to guitar to violin to guitar to synthesizer, etc. without dropping a stride —— if you weren't watching, in fact even if you were, it was like one instrument. The group really played their asses off and it was kind of upsetting to have the audience (T. Tall leading on stage) screaming for more when McLaughlin and company were done —— it simply wasn't appropriate to the mood the group projected —— even applause somehow doesn't fit —— a simple thank you is more the order it seems to me. McLaughlin, seriously drained, did however play an encore. Duane claimed after the show that he had heard everything in the music —— movie themes, Prokofiev, the riff from **Bitch** but Neil kinda summed it up best for me. Asked to describe what it was going to be all about by an initiate before the show, he replied, "God." Yeah —— to quote the title of one of McLaughlin's own tunes —— **Meetings of the Spirit.**

RECORD REVIEW

By BOB POLIFKA

BRAHMS: Piano Concerto No. 2 in B flat, Op. 83. Artur Rubinstein, piano; Philadelphia Orchestra, Eugene Ormandy, cond. RCA LSC- 3253.

BRAHMS: Piano Concerto No. 2 in B flat, Op. 83. Claudio Arrau, piano, Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam, Bernard Haitink, cond. Phillips 6500 019.

Despite the fact that I don't like classifying pieces as my favorite or the greatest of their genre, I would unhesitatingly call Brahms' Second Piano Concerto one of my favorite concertos and one of the greatest piano concertos ever written. Merely in its dimensions, this concerto has never been equalled. The range of emotions is tremendous. It is as dramatic a piece as any of his symphonies, yet the piano solo is still quite a virtuoso part.

After the flop of his first concerto, in 1859, it took another 22 years for Brahms to write another. When he did, it became a unity of concerto and symphonic styles. The Second, a mature work composed during

Brahms' prime, was an immediate success. This four movement concerto (instead of the usual three) became the height of late romantic piano concerti.

This is one of those rare concertos that taxes all the musical skills(both technical and dramatic) of the soloist, the orchestra, and the conductor. Brahms' Second butchers all but the finest. Rubinstein and Arrau stand up in the best fashion, but their performances are very different.

As with many great pieces of music, Brahms' Second suffers from the "standard" performance. That is, there is a certain tempo, certain phrasing, certain dramatic approaches which are accepted as normal and, therefore, correct. However, as long as some musicians refuse to play in this fashion, a good standard performance does have its advantages. Rubinstein plays a standard version; Arrau plays a very unusual one. For this reason, these two new recordings contrast each other very well.

The first movement by Rubinstein is considerably more subdued than an earlier recording of his, but it is still taken at a good clip. Marked "Allegro, ma non troppo," that is fairly accurate here. Rubinstein opens with the warm phrasing that only he is capable of. Rubinstein exphasizes the lyrical more than the turbulent. Because the movement contrasts turbulence with lyricism, I think that Rubinstein is not wholly successful. To be sure, at the lyrical movements, his playing is sublime, but he doesn't rise to the more tempestuous passages. The end result is that the inner tension of the movement is not fully realized.

The scherzo is one of the most successful parts of the concerto. Rubinstein's light touch makes the arpeggiated passages beautiful. The piano entrance at the second theme seems to flow out of nowhere. Rubinstein steers away from a massive approach and is very successful.

In the third movement, the Andante, Samuel Mayes, the cello solo, is superb. His vibrato seems limitless. The movement is a very melancholic, dreamy one, with occasional outbursts. Within the trance-like music, there is still tension, notably in the famous trills. Rubenstein's trills seem too subdued although, again, his phrasing is very good. I still get the feeling that he never gets caught up in the trancelike effect. The interaction between the piano and cello is excellent. The final arpeggio is exquisite.

Without much respite, Rubinstein bounces into the finale, the Allegretto. A bright, cheerful movement, Rubinstein uses his light touch to fine advantage. Again, though, he prefers to remain on a simple scale. I would prefer a larger approach, however.

On Arrau's recording, the listener has a strange feeling as soon as the piano enters. Arrau does not start out much slower than normal, however, he refuses to be pushed faster by the music. (This is a concerto in which it is very easy to get carried away with the tempo.) With Arrau, there is always the sense of being forcibly held back.

To anyone used to a standard Brahms' Second, the first listening to Arrau will be a very tense experience. There is always the tendency to say that he is playing it "wrong." However, by forcibly restraining the music, Arrau is very successful at two things: 1) making the listener aware of the tension in the movement and 2) making the listener stop and **listen** to what is going on. His phrasing is no less carefully thought out than Rubinstein's and he is equally capable of being lyrical, but he uses these skills very differently. It never seems as though Arrau is pushing the music. Arrau lets the music be forced out of himself; it appears that the music is being propelled only from within.

In the second movement, Arrau tries to create more drama than the music is capable of. His phrasing is not nearly as lithe as Rubinstein's. The tempo is, however, superb and the transition from the main to the second theme, always a tricky spot, is astonishingly smooth. astonishingly smooth.

The cello solo from the Concertgebouw Orchestra, unnamed, is very good but recorded a bit far away. Arrau enters very hauntingly. His bite on the trills is very crisp. Throughout the movement, he tries to maintain the eerie feeling with which he begins. Each note in the center and final arpeggios is as detached and distinct as water drops falling into a well. This is Arrau at his finest; so tense that one can feel the sweat pouring down his face.

In the final movement, Arrau starts on a small scale and suddenly explodes. He is constantly alternating these scales. Again the tempo is slower than normal, and at parts one feels held back. Arrau's playing is beautifully detached; everything remains perfectly clear, particularly the rapid scales. After fighting all the way, it is only at the end that Arrau succumbs to the joyous music.

A word now is necessary about the orchestral accompaniment. I admit, however, I still think that the accompaniment to Rubinstein is terrible. Ormandy is constantly jumping in on top of Rubinstein, without giving anyone (especially the listener) a chance to breathe. The result seems cold and clammy. The strings are still omnipresent and the horns sound like they're out in the bleachers. The orchestra is very unbalanced.

Claudio Arrau, on the other hand, has a distinct advantage in the Concertgebouw Orchestra of Amsterdam and its conductor, Bernard Haitink. The orchestral sound is beautiful and well balanced. Haitink leads the orchestra in a very active role in concerto, without overwhelming the soloist. In no other recording of this piece is the orchestra so superb. This is one of the great orchestras of our time.

The RCA sound is, as usual, very poor. The orchestra sounds like it was recorded in the early 1960's stereo. I have to admit, though, that the piano sound is better than usual for RCA. The disc is, of course, a pancake platter (Dynaflex). RCA still fails, even in the quality control; my copy came with a warp, several pops, and a few slight scratches. Alas!

Philips, since it has gone completely European, is magnificent. Reproduction of the orchestra is well balanced and full without being too rich. The full range of the piano is well captured, without making the listener feel like his head is in the piano. The European labels also have the nice habit of putting lots of leader space at the beginning, so the needle won't bounce across your record. Needless to say, there were no flaws on the Philips record.

Although it is a fine performance, I would not recommend the Rubinstein/ Ormandy if you want a standard performance. Much better standard performances are to be found by Serkin/ Szell or Watts/ Bernstein, both available on Columbia. The soloists are fine, at parts better than Rubinstein, and the accompaniment is infinitely better. For a different and very exciting approach, Arrau/ Haitink is recommend unconditionally.

Strindberg's "A
the unstage

By JOHN RATHMAN

"On a slight groundwork of reality, imagination spins and weaves new patterns made up of memories, experiences, unfettered fancies, absurdities and improvisations" . . .(from the author's preface).

Last week's end at Wright Theater the ED 442 seminar presented Strindberg's **A Dream Play**, and the audience was given the unique experience of sharing a nightmare, and seeing what we (all the right-minded) consider to be an unstageable play. Director Erie Volkert and Designer Cap Potter came up with a concept of a night-mare land that gave a good working background to the play, a prison/institution that holds captive both the vagaries of the Dreamer's mind and the wretchedness of us on earth.

Over this captive land come sounds at first discreet, but working their way into the themes of the play, much as the characters themselves split, dissolve and rejoin in complex patterns over a simple theme —— the human condition. So at the outset of the play we hear Indra sending his daughter down to see if the gods judge mankind too harshly, to see if there is any "reason, any grounds for all their weeping and wailing". Beneath her we see a beautifully tortured mass of stereotypes writhing and wailing to show her the pitiableness of mankind.

And indeed they prove their point — but unfortunately to no real avail. Indra's daughter, a mammoth role requiring a great proficience and effort, was played with a listless resignation by Melanie Jackson. If the text of the dream was to have her become convinced of the wretchedness of mankind (and on the whole they were very convincingly wretched), she did not show a proper change from curiosity to despairing love. Occasionally Melanie showed a real brilliance and awareness of her role, especially during her mantra at Indra's Ear, and in her first encounter with the gate-keeper. But she came to the point of resignation before the great scene with the lawyer on the disintegration of marriage, a point too early in the play to be effective.

The officer was excellently interpreted, and Andy Bloch brought the character to a real dream-life, moving from the comic to tragic with the finesse of transition that the author intended. Especially in the scene with the glazier before the first opening of the door (which we consider to be the finest scene in the play) and in his refutation of logic, Mr. Bloch showed the insight into the romantic stereotype that allowed

Andrew Bloch and Bruce Chapin as The Officer and The Quara

Dream Play" - able drama

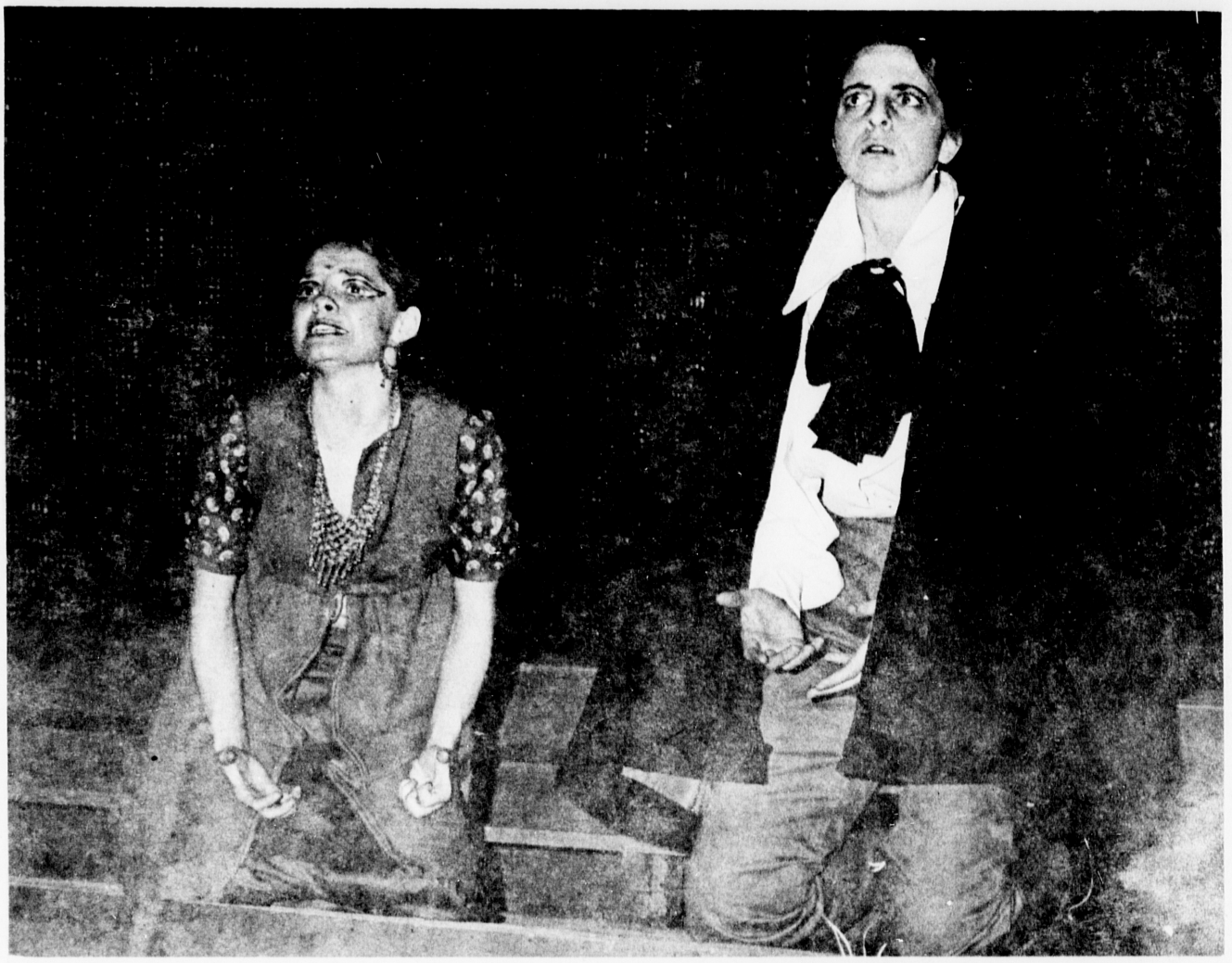
him to play not only in his role, but adapt to others interpretations of their parts, a quality notably lacking in the Lawyer.

Jon Lonoff, as the Lawyer, found an identity that, while not bad, did not change from one part of the play to the next, and if the Lawyer is a stereotype role, as I believe Strindberg intended, any one interpretation is not adequate, and the actor must move about in his character, stressing first one facet, then another. Also Mr. Lonoff might take advice from the great director the Lord Hamlet: "Nor do saw the air too much with your hand, thus; but use all gently . . . for in your passion, you must beget a temperance that may give it smoothness."

So if the Lawyer lacks this temperance, the Poetess certainly had it. At first, I questioned the prorpiety of changing the poet into a female character but Alex Elson played the part excellently, and certainly to no detriment in the play. The change might even have enhanced the antithesis of the stereotypes. One of the best scenes in the play was in the grotto called Indra's Ear, where the poetess reacts subtly behind the daughter's incantations. One thing that I did miss, and is perhaps only a whim, was on her first entrance, there should have been clay or mud in her scrouging-bucket. Unique to the poetess' performance was the feeling of having come full circle, but now wiser, as she ends on stage, just as she entered —— alone.

In a play with so numerous a cast, it is impossible to judge each person's performance. I deemed it necessary to examine the four leads, but can only mention the best of the minor characters in passing. The majority of the minor roles were inoffensively done, if grossly underplayed. If this is a nightmare on the grotesquery of life, then even the mildest character should have an exaggerated mildness. The background characters fitted a modality that can only hurt the play, and the characters that I mention here broke through and brought a feeling to their character that benefitted the play. Pat Regan (Indra's voice and the glazier) had an excellent comic sense and played the glazier with a vague absurdity that one cannot define, as though he were in a dream. It was a good innovation to have the same voice for the two parts, in that it provided a transition from the prologue to the play that is missing in the text. Amy Gootenberg (the mothers) and Andrea Mahee (the gate-kepper) were both very aware of what they were saying, a quality that many players missed (and some spoke indecisively to the point of inaudibility), and helped their scenes to be among the best.

ntine Master.



Indra's daughter (Melanie Jackson) and The Poetess (Alex Elson) imploring Indra to have pity for Mankind.

David Kester was phenomenal as the blind man. I look forward to seeing him again in other bigger roles — he did nothing wrong, maintained his mime of blindness very well.

Nadja Smith and Timmy Fischer also were quite good, exhibiting the "bigness" that was by in large lacking. Joe Ochman also had this "bigness" but is a ham. Not that this is any great perjorative, for being a ham is much better than being a non-entity. With the exception of Mr. Fischer, the deans were pretty awful — ununderstandable, hyperkinetic and clumsy, they killed what I have long considered to be the crucial scene of the play, and potentially the most comic. Last night it was comic, but for the wrong reasons.

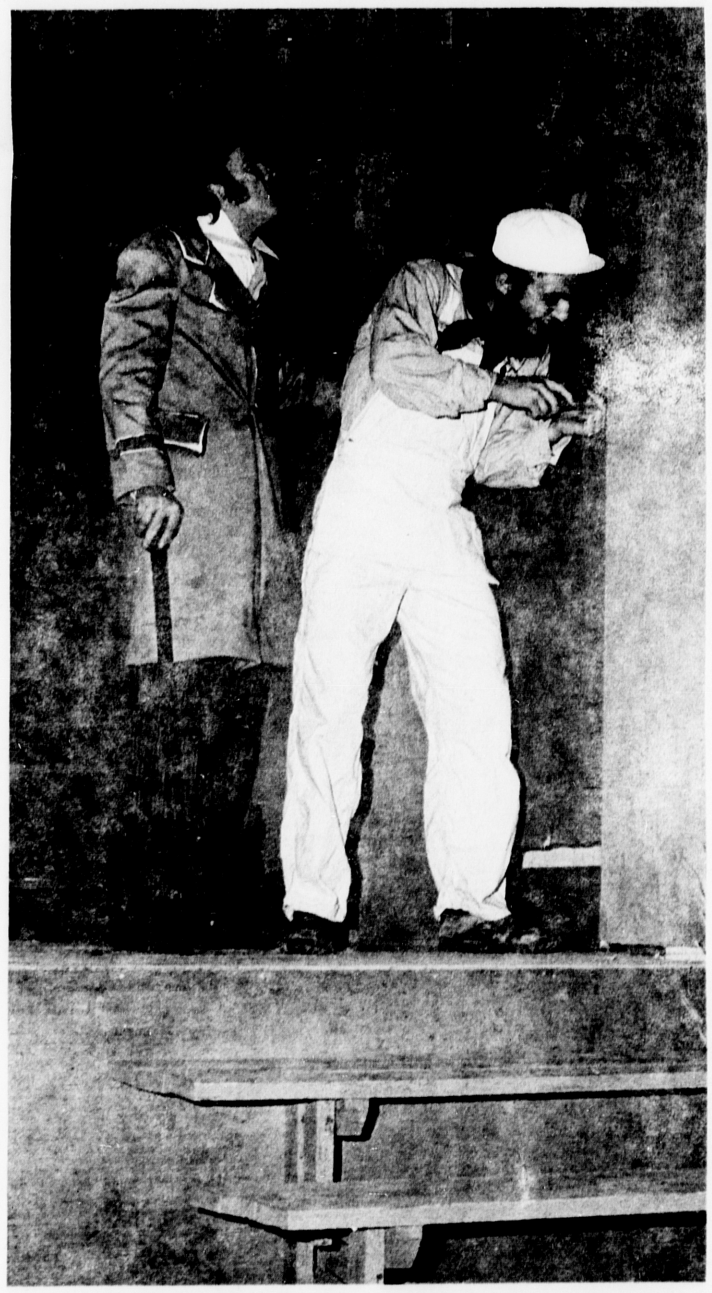
Technically the show is very hard to judge. It was a mammoth undertaking, and Messers. Potter and Forman are to be complemented for just having the set there. The set and props looked good, and the show was smoothly run (Duane Kline, the stage manager, must be complimented — this show was easily the most complex Middlebury has seen in the three years I've been here, and possibly ever — for he has retained his sanity.) But three is no real way to judge. On the two nights I saw it, the show could have been run using a different set of cues: not that it looked bad, merely different. It might have helped if the light crew had not worn iron gloves and showed a modicum of restraint in recovering from their errors, but the show it seemed a need to "ripen" on the whole, and this restraint comes with experience.

The scene changes, masked by variations on the play's musical themes (sound by James Howarth) were done more smoothly than I would have thought possible, and this speed greatly helped the tempo of the show. The sound was on the whole quite good, but (as with most of the show) constructed around a complex subtle set of themes and counterthemes, which can only be appreciated with a great deal of concentration, or as I did, by seeing the play twice.

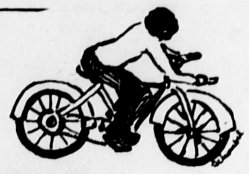
Indeed, many of the subtleties of the play are lost, if it is only seen once. This however, is not the fault of the director or actors, but rather the playwright. The second time I saw it, it was vastly improved — not so much that the actors changed appreciably, but rather that I was watching with some knowledge of the themes and plots.

This review is based on viewings of two nights, Thursday and Saturday, and I cannot take responsibility for the opinions of those who saw it Friday and Sunday. One final observation: on Saturday night, the bud almost did not open at the end of the show. Can you imagine the change in the meaning and symbolism if that bud had not opened, but listed to one side and died?

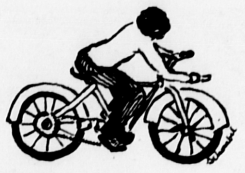
"Then it shouldn't take you long to find out what reality is !" "Or Dreams!"



Pat Regan (The Glazier) operating on the mystery door as Andy Bloch looks on.



E.Q. NEWS



By TOM PLUMB

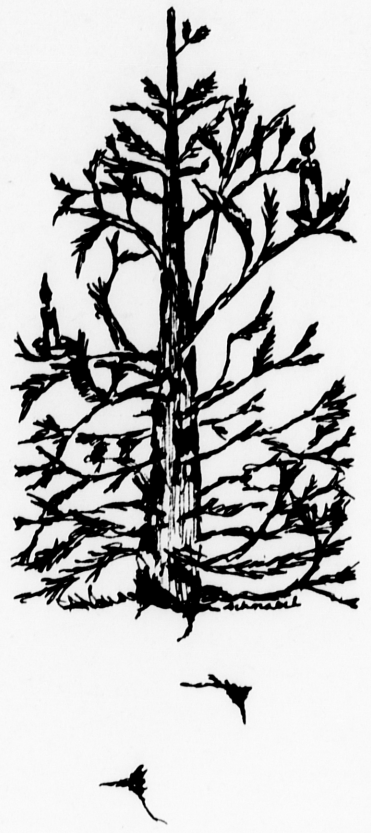
The Christmas season is upon us again and along with its joys come several environmental problems. One of these problems involves power. The power companies have promised us a shortage of power for the Christmas season and until we stop using so much power we will have to learn to expect this. One way to cut down on power use is to have an Environmental Christmas. Few of us remember what an "old-time Christmas" was like, but we all know that there weren't as many frills as there are today. For one thing there were no electrical Christmas tree lights but only natural light (if any lights were used at all). Environmental Quality urges everyone to not use electrical Christmas lights. This will not only save electricity, but will also take out some of the frills modern technology has put into Christmas.

There are many presents that are bought for little brothers and sisters that break after the first week. The resources that were needed to produce these products are then thrown away. The child may have enjoyed the present for a short while, but the loss of it after it breaks may only make him unhappy. When you buy presents, try to buy ones that are durable enough to stay around for a while. By doing this the child is saved from the unhappiness and the resources needed to manufacture the gift stay around longer. You might also like to consider making your own presents. This adds a great deal of meaning to the present and squelches Madison Avenue's infatuation with consumerism.

An excessive amount of paper is used to wrap presents, so try to use as little wrapping paper as possible or reuse old paper. Over 1-1/2 billion Christmas cards are sent each year and this also requires a great deal of paper. If it is at all possible, try to cut down on the number of Christmas cards you send or send cards made of recycled paper.

A Christmas present suggestion: Many environmental organizations survive on the contributions of individuals and are hurting for money. Why don't you give your friends a real environmental present by giving them a gift subscription to an environmental newsletter. This will help the organization and educate your friends. One such organization that can use some help in Environmental Action in Washington, D.C. Write them at Rm. 731, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20036 or ask EQ for details.

Most Christmas trees are grown on farms just as many food crops are. However, food crops provide us with nourishment and are not thrown away after they are used like Christmas trees are. This is an unnecessary sacrifice of a tree and Environmental Quality urges everyone to buy a live tree and replant it after Christmas. This will not only save a tree, but will also keep the memory of this Christmas alive. (Let's just hope that memory is a merry one.) If you do buy a live tree, do not keep it inside for more than two weeks and if the ground is not frozen plant it right after you are through with it. If the ground is frozen put it outside in a trash can, fill the can with dirt, water it once, let Nature take care of it until spring, and then plant it or give it to the state to plant.



With the advent of the winter season the all too familiar roar of the snowmobiles can be heard all over the countryside. EQ would like to remind students that snowmobiles are not allowed on college property. If you see a snowmobile crossing college land tell the driver that he is not wanted and ask him or her to leave.

The bike shelters are almost all ready. Some of them already have racks and all of them should at some time in the near future. If you live in Forest or Pearsons put your bikes in Forest West by entering through the N.W. rear door and going into the first room on the right. If you live in the Chat or Allen they should be put in the Allen bike room, which is in the N.W. corner ground level. If you live in the Batts put them in the Battell North trunk room and for Gifford and Hillcrest the south end of Gifford storeroom is where they belong. If you live in Painter, Starr or Voter put them in the first room on the left through the north end ground entrance of Painter. For Hepburn and Stewart the Hepburn Kitchen is your bicycle's resting place and for Milliken, Hadley, Kelly and Lang your bicycle's new home is the Hadley game room (this won't be ready until the week of December 11th). You can either keep your bike there all winter or take it out on a nice day.

Vacation time is coming up again and Amtrak is still in operation. So if you want to take a train home see the Amtrak schedule in Proctor (on the EQ bulletin board).

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Molly Chamberlain -- Photographs Taken, Made, or Given

By SKIP ATWATER

Photography, as does no other medium, allows the artist to crystalize his vision at the precise moment of fullest meaning. The photographer making a photograph excersizes the power of selection in each exposure.

There are many ways to approach the experience of making photographs. Let us look at one process of making photographs as a relationship between an artist and an object. Let's put them both on an equal level: the being of the object is as important as the being of the photographer. The object and the photographer interrelate in the process of forming an image. Each exposure during the relationship fuses the specific feeling-state shared by the object and the photograph exercises the power of selection in each exposure.

Photographs are taken, made, or given. In the relationship between the object and the photographer, at many times it becomes the object who gives the image to the photographer. At these times the photographer becomes witness to the being of the object. Images are created that he has no control over—they are given to him.

Molly Chamberlin's photographs of the Soviet Union are made, given, and taken. When a photograph is taken, the photographer is simply collecting the likeness of what he saw. The intensity of the image goes no farther than the recognition of the subject matter. The fireworks, several village scenes, and a few facades have this quality.

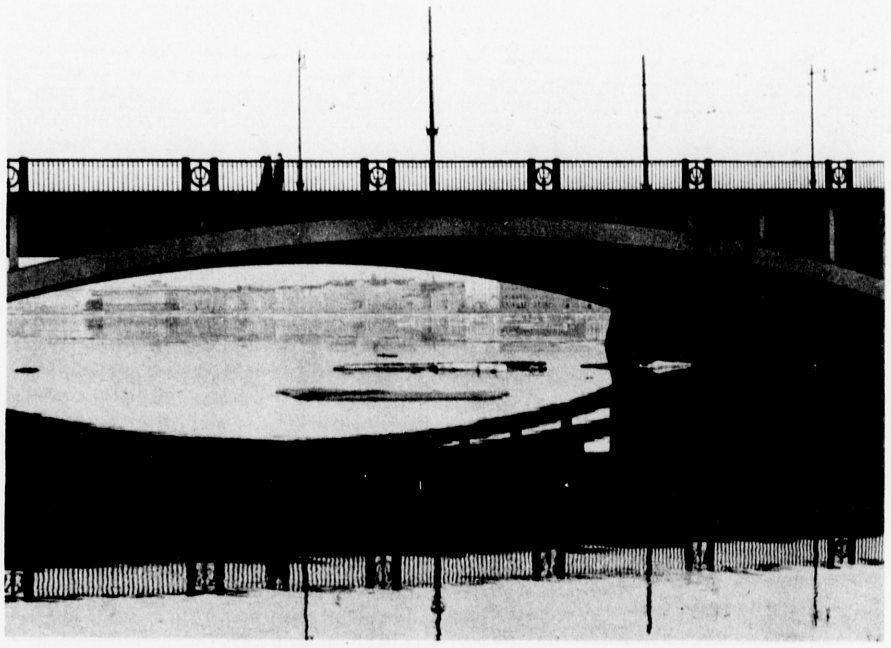
Photographs that are made recognize the presence of a communicative object-photographer relationship. The relationship is infused with meaning due to the interaction of two sensitive beings. In photographs which are made, we are aware that the exposure was more the choice of the photographer than the object.

Molly's photographs of specific graphic and tonal properties evidence this quality. She has recognized that light and form have magical properties of speech. They speak to her—in the richness of shadows underneath archways, the play of tonality across a wall, the glow of light as it grows into a color, the interval of magic lines and forms that lead the eye through space. She sees these qualities in walls, windows, buildings, bridges, statues, churches, and monuments.

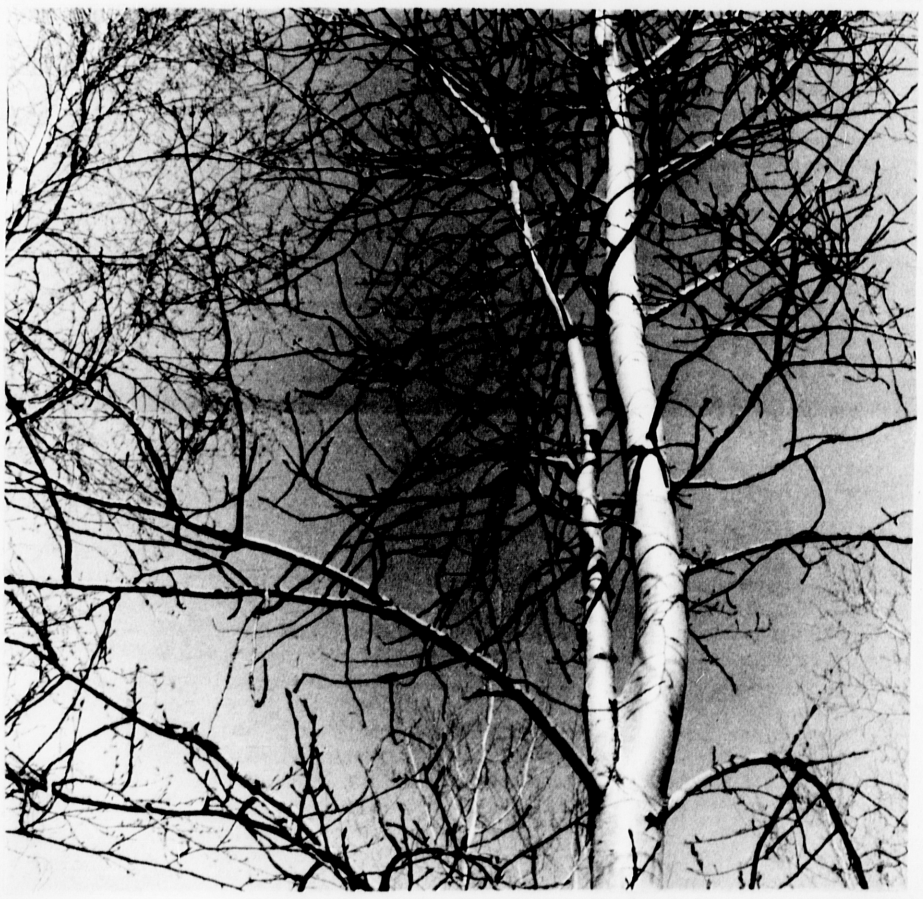
Photographs that are given attain the purest state of the object-photographer relationship. At this point the subjective selectivity of the photographer vanishes; the image is the manifestation of an intense mutual feeling-state void of any conscious interference. The interaction is charged with a surging empathy that is witnessed and recorded by the camera. It is at these moments that meaning and essence are exposed.

The image is the crystalization of the union of the being of the object with the being of the photographer. Such images are given very rarely to a photographer owing to the intensity of their meaning.

In my opinion there were five objects which gave Molly photographs. These images attest to her vision as a photographer and sensitivity as an artist, for in them she has heard the voice of light and felt the presence of another being.



Leningrad, 1972



Birch in Latvia

Lenin through a window on a collective farm

Church of the Hagia Sofia in Novgorod

Midd Stuns Union, 59-53

By ERIC MALTZMAN

The Middlebury basketball team opened up the 1972-73 season at Union College on December 2. Union, which went 19-3 last year, was the decided favorite. Losing but one player through graduation, Union had everyone else back to form the nucleus of a solid team. Middlebury looked miserable in pre-season scrimmages with Castleton St. and Johnson St., so the exciting 59-53 Panther victory had to be considered an upset.

Middlebury started the game with sophomores Dave Pentkowski and Mike Cummings in the backcourt, soph Ben Davidson at center, and seniors Bob Elliot and Rich Hayes in the corners. Elliot hit his first two shots, Hayes added a jumper, and it was quickly 6-0. Union hit a foul shot after three and a half minutes, but Midd's tight defense did not yield to a field goal until more than four minutes had elapsed. Union's players appeared befuddled, but their tough man-to-man defense got them the lead at 7-6. Middlebury continued to have problems penetrating, so when Union moved ahead by three after the eleven minute mark, Coach Lawson began to substitute. Jack Kirsch replaced Elliot, Kevin Cummings came in for Mike Cummings, and Dave Nelson took over for Hayes. The Panthers began to move better and work for better shots. Middlebury went to a man-to-man defense during the final two minutes of the half, as Union was slowing the pace in hopes for the last shot. The defensive switch paid off. Rich Hayes combined with Pentkowski to steal the ball, and the latter's layup with just three seconds remaining gave Midd a 26-25 halftime lead.

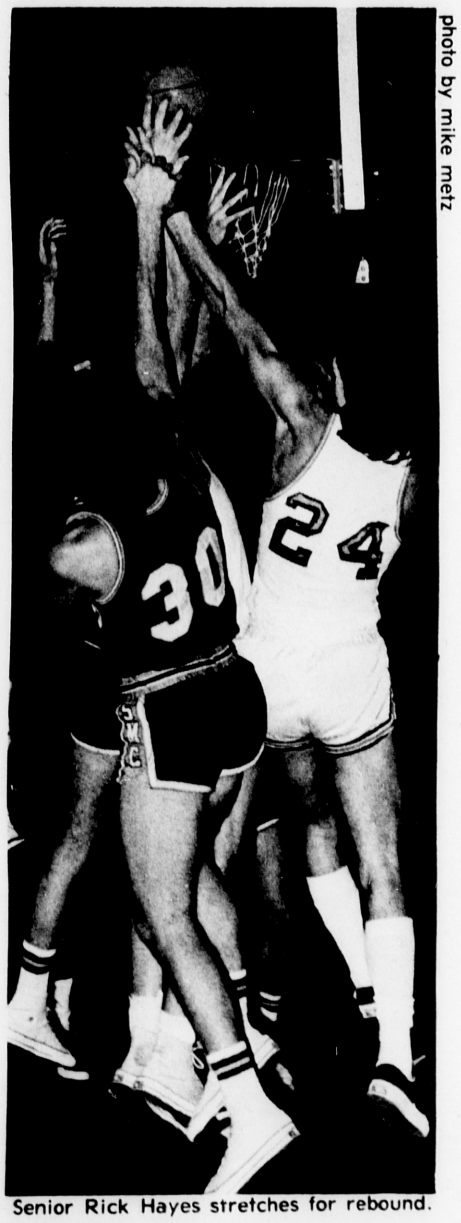


photo by mike metz

Senior Rick Hayes stretches for rebound.

Middlebury began the second half with the same lineup as the opening tap with the exception of Kevin Cummings teaming with Pentkowski in the backcourt. Davidson hit the first basket of the second half, and the Panthers hald onto the three-point lead at 34-31 after five minutes and 42-39 after ten. Kevin Cummings' hot hand was particularly responsible for maintaining the slim advantage. When Pentkowski broke free on an inbounds play for a layup and Kirsch hit two foul shots, Middlebury had their biggest lead of the night at 46-39 with nine minutes left. But Union refused to quit, and Midd's lead was sliced to one, 50-49, four minutes later. The partisan crowd went wild when Union knotted it at 51-51. A big basket by Hayes put Midd in front 53-51 with 3:16 left on the clock, but Union tied it twenty seconds later. Hayes hit two foul shots at 2:02 to make it 55-53. Middlebury then went into a man-to-man, and once again Lawson's strategy proved successful. Dave Pentowski added four free throws in the last 45 seconds to give the Panthers a hard-earned six-point victory.

Both teams shot well and played aggressive defense. Middlebury hit 21 for 41 from the field with Union going 22-46. Rich Hayes and Kevin Cummings led the attack with 16 points apiece; Pentkowski added 15. Middlebury played a combination defense which resembled a two-three zone that attempts to exert man-to-man pressure on the ball. Union emplyed a full-court pressure man-to-man, and it kept them in the game. It may have also lost the game, however, in the sense that their aggressive tactics caused four players to foul out in the final five minutes. The Panthers won the game at the foul line, hitting on 17-25 to Union's 9-12. Midd's fundamental weakness was in the rebounding department. Davidson and Kirsch were impressive in grabbing ten and eight caroms, respectively, but 13 of Unon's 21 rebounds were off the offensive board.

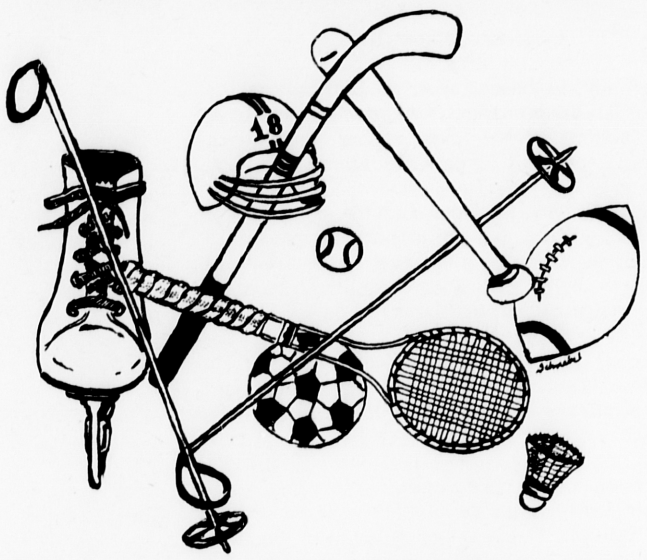
An additional weakness shared by players, officials, and fans alike was the lack of knowledge of the new rule concerning fouls. The new NCAA rule states that one shot fouls will not be shot until a team has committed its seventh foul. One shot fouls will then be on a one-and-one basis. When the bonus situation is not in effect, the fouled team will be given possession out of bounds. (The new rule does not affect two shot fouls.)

Union coach Gary Walters felt that Midd's guards were uncannily good in bringing the ball up under heavy pressure. He also felt that his team played well under its ability in the first half.

Lawson was particularly pleased with an all-around team effort and the performances of Kirsch and Cummings coming off the bench. He was also beaming over the near-flawless consistency of his backcourt men. The only disappointment for the Panther, the recently-named New England soccer Coach-of-the-Year, was rebounding. He said, "How well we rebound will be the key against UVM."

The Panthers will play the tall UVM squad on December 6. They will then host Lowell Tech on the ninth, play in the Bentley College tournament December 27 and 28, and return from vacation to face Hamilton at home on January 5.

SPORTS



Amherst Nudges Panthers 1-0 in Soccer Tournament

By TIM KATZMAN

The first round of the ECAC New England College Soccer Championships at Westfield State College, in which the Panthers competed, was dominated by upsets.

Both Middlebury (the number one seed) and host Westfield State slipped to defeat in the semi-final round.

Midd had the upper hand against Amherst in the opening game but nevertheless, came out on the short end of the score, 1-0.

The Panthers overwhelmingly outshot the Lord Jeffs by a 21-4 margin, but were held scoreless by strong Amherst defensive play.

At the end of regulation time, both teams had been unable to score and moved into sudden-death overtime play.

In the second fifteen-minute overtime period, Amherst's Mark Woodbrey gathered in a sharp pass from David Dunbar and slipped a shot past Art Ellison for the clincher.

The Panthers had several opportunities to score in the waning moments of regulation time, but were unable to capitalize. Dave Pentkowski came within inches of a tally on a direct kick, and Brian Lewis muffed a potential scoring bid on a breakaway, having difficulty controlling the ball.

Amherst's gifted netminder, James McNitt, although under the pressure of a persistent Midd attack, survived admirably and garnered the shutout for the Jeffs.

Williams went on the following day to capture first place and the championship, edging Amherst 2-0.

G.T.Lawson Honored Soccer Coach-of-the-Year

From the Rutland Herald Nov. 28, 1972

MIDDLEBURY — (Special)

G. Thomas Lawson, who led the Middlebury College soccer team to a 9-0-1 regular season record, the finest ever at the Vermont school, has been named Coach-of-the-Year for the University Division of the New England Intercollegiate Soccer League, it was announced this week by League officials.

In winning the prestigious award, Lawson was picked by the New England Soccer Coaches Association over some 20 other Division I coaches, some of whom represented nationally ranked teams. His plaque was presented Sunday in Springfield, Mass. at the organization's annual meeting held in conjunction with the League All-Star game. Selected from Middlebury for the game were Andy and Charlie Jackson and Dave Pentkowski.

Usually awarded to a coach at New England's large universities, Lawson's selection marks the first time a Middlebury coach has won the designation in the 19-year history of the sport at the liberal arts college.

In commenting on the designation, Lawson pointed out that a lot of people made it possible. "I realize this is an individual award, but it reflects the effort and dedication of the players, my assistant coaches, Gary Hinkley and Bob Greene, and my family," he said.

Lawson led the Panther booters back from a disappointing 4-6 record in 1971 to an undefeated campaign this year. His team finished the season with eight straight wins to set a new school record for most victories in a season. His four-year record at Middlebury is 24-14-4.

Middlebury closed out the year ranked fourth in New England behind nationally ranked Harvard, Brown and Bridgeport and earned a top seeded berth in the New England ECAC Regional Tournament. The Panthers were upset by Amherst 1-0 in overtime in the opening round of play. Lawson's 1970 team also saw tournament action in the NCAA Regionals against Brown.

Lawson, who has been nearly as successful as head basketball coach, joined the Middlebury athletic staff as varsity soccer coach in 1969 following a brilliant career at Proctor (Vt.) High School. After serving one year as assistant basketball coach he was named head coach at the college in 1970 and in two seasons his teams have posted 28 wins as against 20 losses. Last year's 15-8 record was the best ever.

The St. Johnsbury, Vt. native has a habit of turning out winning teams. In six seasons at Proctor High, 1963-69, his soccer record was 70-4-2, including 52 straight wins, and four state titles.

Panthers Drop Home Opener

Disasterous 3rd Period

By DAVE McCORMICK

It had all been too nice. The Panthers, while playing at a par with Salem State in the first period, had dominated the second. Chris Culter had just scored the second Midd goal of the third period, and with a 5-2 lead and only thirteen minutes remaining, everyone from Middlebury relaxed.

Coach Wendy Forbes, looking like a cat who had just finished eating a bird, watched as his players ran over Salem. The home crowd, sensing victory, had focused its attention on taunting the Salem State cheerleaders. Middlebury was going to win its first home game.

Then it began to happen. Thirty-two seconds after Cutler scored, Salem's Goerge Hughes connected, cutting the Panther lead to 5-3. So what — only twelve minutes left to play.

However, at 12:56, Rich McBrine beat Goaltender Larry Perlman with a slap shot, from far out. Three minutes later Bob Rotundi found himself all alone in front of the Panther cage, and his goal tied the score at five. Suddenly, the sure victory was a not-so-sure tie. At this point, with their victory slipping away, the Panthers woke up and pressed hard for the remaining four minutes but could not score. With regulation time gone, the score remained tied at 5-5.

As the ten minute overtime period was announced the crowd rallied to the support of the Middlebury squad. It proved to no avail however, as only seven seconds into the period, a Salem player skated in alone on Perlman, who made a fine save to keep Middlebury in the game. A rather meager Panther attack followed, which yielded to a Salem offensive drive and a scramble in front of the Panther net. During this scramble Salem's Steve DeVoe jammed the puck into the Midd net, giving Salem State a 6-5 sudden death victory. Everyone was stunned; only half an hour ago, the game had been in the bag.

In the pre-season reports on the team, an impotent offense had been cited as Middlebury's main weakness. However, it was not this, but a defensive collapse which spelled out the Panther loss. Goals by Simourd in the first period, Silver and Burr in the second, and McCallum and Cutler in the final period showed that the Panthers can indeed shoot and set up effective offensive plays. But, with a three goal lead, the Midd forwards stopped backchecking and the defense neglected to move opposing forwards out from in front of the Midd net. As three of the final four goals leading to the Midd debacle were scored from close range, this lack of in-zone play would seem to be responsible for the Panther loss.

After being taunted for a good portion of the game, it turned out that the Salem State cheerleaders had been right; Salem **did** win.

It had all been too nice.

(Ed.'s note: During Thanksgiving vacation, the team traveled north to Montreal for a pair of "exhibition" games with C.M.R. and McDonald. Midd slid by C.M.R. by a 2-1 count and drew a stalemate with McDonald, 3-3.)

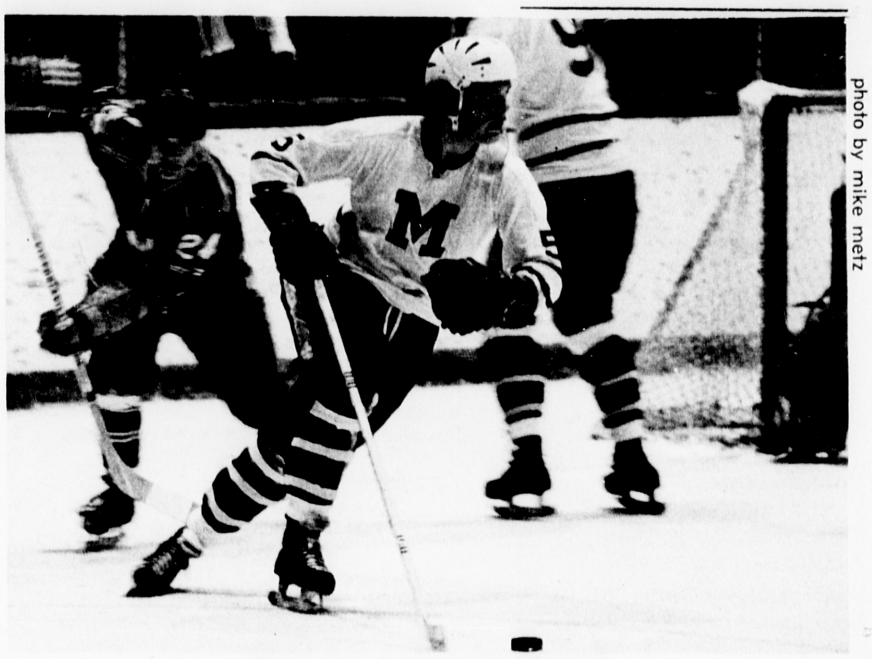


photo by mike metz

Barry Jones heads up ice with puck.

VITAMAN

Thousands of this country's gardeners are rapidly making the decision to go organic - they will no longer garden with chemicals, pesticides, or weedkillers!

This brings up the question : "How does one deal with bugs?" The answer to this question is set out in a new book by Rodale Press: **The Organic Way to Plant Protection.** Everything from Dutch Elms to lawns, cucumbers, and roses are examined, with good organic advice given to keep them healthy.

For example, in growing cucumbers, several menaces may develop. A 3/4 inch long pickleworm is best combatted by planting early, and planting a row of squash far enough away from the cucumbers so that the worm will stay on the squash and away from the cucumbers.

The worst enemy of the cucumber is the striped cucumber bettle. It is yellow and black, about 1/5 inch long. The greatest damage is done when the plants are still just pushing through the ground and before leaves are developed. The insect spreads disease, and infests crops. To combat this in a natural way, the organic gardener may do a few things.

Mulching is perhaps the best. "Mulch is a layer of material, preferably organic material, that is placed on the soil to conserve moisture, hold down weeds, and ultimately improve soil structure and fertility." (**The Organic Way to Mulching**, Rodale Press, 1972)

This natural ground covering often is extremely effective in holding down insects. One Ohio gardener observes "I was setting out watermelon plants and was driven in by rain before I had finished. I had all but one hill mulched with compost. I didn't get back for two days, and the unmulched hill was literally destroyed by striped cucumber beetles, while others were not bothered. I've had this experience with other things I have mulched - they appear to be less susceptible to pests."

A spray may be made for already infested plants, consisting of mixing a handful of wood ashes, a handful of hydrated lime, and two gallons of water. Marigolds planted around cucumbers are also known to repel beetles. Dusting with charcoal is also very helpful.

Crop rotation every 3-4 years helps prevent diseases.

There are organic ways to protect plants, without subjecting people to poison sprays which can interfere with cell oxidation in humans, increase allergic reactions, and even cause cancer. The organic gardener should expect some trouble - in fact it is said that the way to tell an organic apple is by finding wormholes! But organic food, for ecological and health reasons, should be cultivated, and natural protection is a must. This book is recommended to all interested in having healthy plants.

Prevention's Yummy Pumpkin

2 cups Grated Raw Pumpkin
1 1/2 teaspoons Saffcower oil
1 teaspoon pure Honey (or more)
Salt (to taste)

Combine pumpkin, oil, and honey in top of a double boiler, cover, and cook until well heater. Add salt and serve hot. Serves 2-4.

INTRAMURALS

The Middlebury College Intramural Basketball Season opened this past week with a full schedule of pre-season scrimmages. The scrimmages were used to help determine the division each team would be placed in.

This year the Basketball Program will be divided into an A and B Division. Hopefully, this arrangement will afford closer competition in the entire league. In the A Division there will be six teams. They include KDR, two DU teams, and three Independent teams. The B Division is comprised of 10 teams and includes Stewart, Hepburn, Chi Psi, Zeta Psi, ASP, Faculty-Staff, and four Independent squads. Games this year will be played on Monday and Wednesday and began on December 4. They will resume after the exam and Christmas breaks.

A round-robin format will be used within each division during the regular season, with a single elimination tournament to be held during the week of March 12-16. This tourney will include selected teams of both the A and B divisions.

The Hockey Intramurals also played their pre-season practice games during the past week. These games were used to determine the participants of both an A and B Division. This year, the A Division will consist of two Independent clubs, CP, Faculty-Staff, ZP, and one representative from DU and ASP. The B Division will be represented by second units from DU and ASP, two Stewart teams, SE, KDR, and an Independent.

A round-robin schedule will also be used in each of the hockey divisions during the regular season, with a single elimination tournament including all of the teams to be held at the conclusion of regular play.

There will be several other intramural activities held this winter and those interested should begin to organize. The activities will include a co-ed Chess Championship, Bridge, Bowling, Ski Meet and a Swim Meet. More information on these activities will be available after the Christmas recess.

Swimmers Disappointed

By JOHN WOODS

Two disappointing finishes behind perrenial powerhouse UVM marked recent action for Middlebury's Women's Swim team.

The University of Vermont hosted the Women's Invitational meet Nov. 18 which included the University of Maine, Castleton State, Green Mountain and Plattsburg, besides UVM and Middlebury.

UVM dominated the meet, with a winning total of 122 points, as nine women's records were set. Middlebury lost the battle for second place in the 400-yard freestyle relay, the final event of the meet. The University of Maine took the event, and second place, by a margin of six tenths of a second.

For Middlebury, Kathy White turned in one brilliant performance as she won the 100-yard breast stroke in a time of 1:22.7.

On Nov. 29 Middlebury hosted a tri-meet against Plattsburg and UVM. The University of Vermont swimmers again out-distanced Middlebury's Pantherettes by a winning margin of 100-89. Plattsburg placed a distant third with 20 points.

The meet saw three more records fall to the UVM squad, as well as gathering 10 of 14 first place finishes. The UVM victory marked the fifth time the squad has captured the Middlebury Challenge Cup in the cup's five year history.

On the agenda for the Middlebury swimmers is an upcoming dual meet against Russell Sage, away, on Wednesday, Dec. 6. Middlebury downed Russell Sage earlier this year, 115-78.

The following are the results of Wednesday's tri-meet, for the Middlebury swimmers only. Scoring for individual events is 6-4-3-2-1-0. For relays, in which a team is allowed to enter only one official team, the scoring is 8-4-0.

200 Medley Relay	2nd place to team of L. Klein, K. White, C. Norton, S. Fairclough
200 yd. Freestyle	3rd, S. Ferris; 4th, C. Ware
200 yd. Individual Medley	2nd, L. Solorzano
50 yd. Backstroke	2nd,, L. Fuller; 3rd, L. Klein
50 yd. Breaststroke	1st, K. White; 4th, C. Ware
50 yd. Freestyle	2nd, S. Fairclough; 5th, L. Klein
Diving, 1 meter	3rd, R. Walrath
100 yd. Freestyle	2nd, S. Fairclough; 4th, S. Ferris
100 yd. Backstroke	2nd, L. Solorzano; 5th, M. Lhamon
100 yd. Breaststroke	1st, K. White; 4th, N. Looms
100 yd. Butterfly	1st, C. Norton; 2nd, L. Solorzano
400 yd. Freestyle	2nd, C. Ware; 3rd, B. Folino
400 yd. Freestyle Relay	1st place to team of L. Fuller, S. Fairclough, S. Ferris, L. Klein
50 yd. Butterfly	2nd, C. Norton; 3rd, L. Fuller

CAMPUS WANT ADS

FOR SALE:Sony car cassette stereo. $120 New sell for $60 or will barter. See Peter, Starr 310.

Hate bare bare rooms? Add homey touch. Lamps! Knicknacks! comfy sofas! even antique treadle sewing machine! All at AFS auction, December 8, Friday, 7:30, MUHS.

Winter Carnival Raffle Tickets will be on sale for only a few more days before the drawing on December 8th at 7:00 pm in Proctor Lounge. Hurry and buy your chances (1 for 25¢ and 5/$1.00) to win part of the $1,000 in prizes, all donated by Skihaus.

Winter Term Apartment For Rent: In town. $50.00 a month plus utilities. Contact Lunna-Shivelhood, 27 Court Street as soon as possible.

FOR SALE: KLH **Stereo** Compact Model #26. Two years old, was originally $280 sac. for $210. See: Painter 203.

Are you fed up with the ad board? Does it take you hours to find what you are looking for and then you find that you don't have a pencil to copy it down? Are you staying here on weekends because nc one can find your ad amidst the rubble of the Ride Board? Are you desperately trying to sell that old clutter? Do you want to wish your buddies a fantastic birthday?

Nothing to do? How about giving me a ride to New York or Philadelphia, Wednesday or Thursday of exam week? Contact Diz, Batts C 310. Will pay.

Need a coat? Air Force Style Parka for sale. Much more heavily lined than most. Like new! Contact Bob, box C1472 or Hepburn 210.

WANTED: A room off-campus for one girl—preferably with kitchen facilities—for Winter and Spring Semesters. Contact: Jane at Room 121, 388-9327 or C1171.

FOR SALE: Lafayette **Stereo Amplifier.** 50 watts. Still under warrantee. Contact Bob, box C1472 or Hepburn 210.

Are you secretly yearning to send cryptic messages? Well, if this sounds like you, then use the Campus Want Ads. For one quarter you can let the world know!

Just write out your message (25 words or less), put it in an envelope with 25 cents, send it to Campus Want Ads (via the campus mail, Box 1148), and watch for the results!

LOSING food from the public refrigerator? Do yourself a favor and buy one! 5 cubic feet. One and a half years old. Will haggle. Contact: LH box C1121.

A REAL BUY!! Size 8 and 1/2 M Henke Competition ski boots. $50.00. Contact: Toby June, Stewart 211.

FOR SALE: full size double **mattress** and box spring, metal frame included. Very good condition. Sacrifice 388-6479.

SKIS FOR SALE: Head Downhills, 215 cm, 1967, used three seasons racing, in really good shape (no rockpiles) about $60. Nibs Nelson C939 or 388-6201.

Double Bed for sale...mattress and box springs...also refrigerator (18 by 24 by 33 inches) Must sell before Christmas. Beverlie, Starr 412, 9492.

CRYPTIC MESSAGE DEPARTMENT: 324 Mad Chinese philosophical Taoists as well as 108 slightly crazed Christians fellowshipped last night with 201 beautiful women named Kelly.

FOR SALE: Good beginner's skis, Yamaha Novice (fiberglass), 180 ccs. With Marker toes, Alprima heels. $30. Meryl Siegman, Allen 318, C1410

WANTED: Ride to New York for two persons on Thursday the 14th before 10 a.m. Contact: Jerome Bourrellis, Starr 409.

WANTED: Someone, student or other, to give me intermediate piano lessons during winter term and possibly during spring term. Contact: Sally, Box C 632

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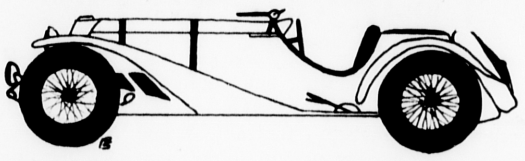

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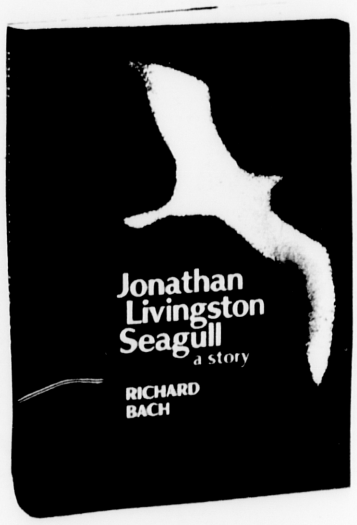

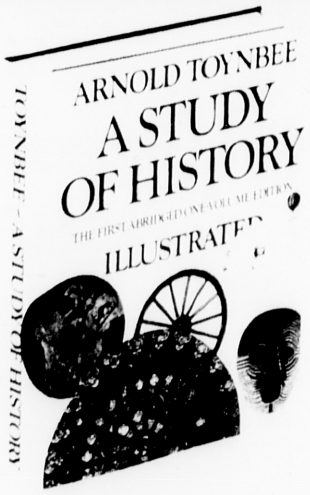

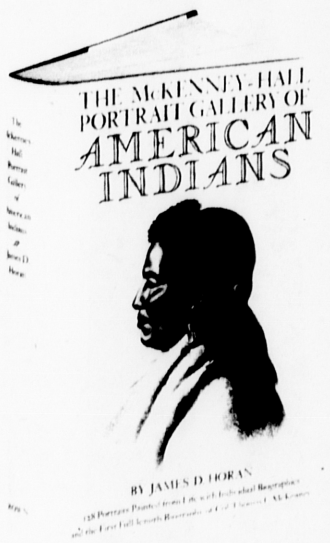

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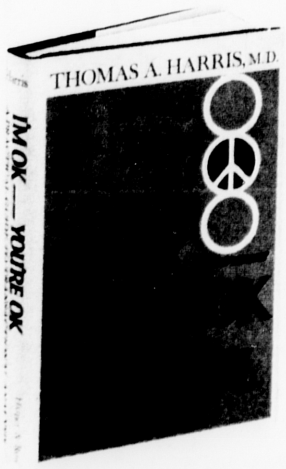

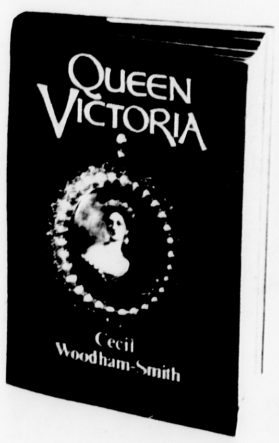

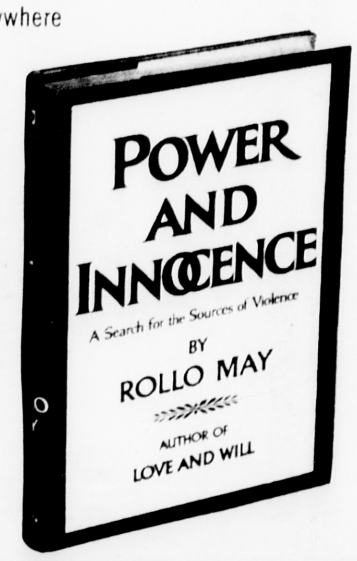

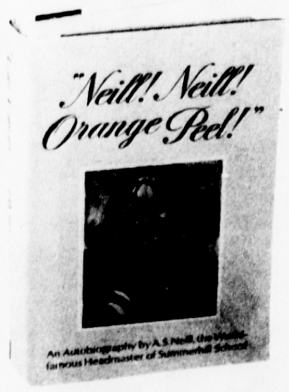

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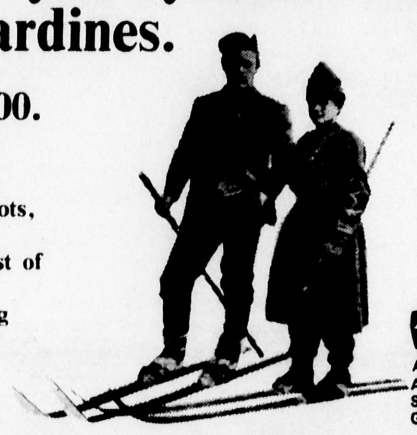

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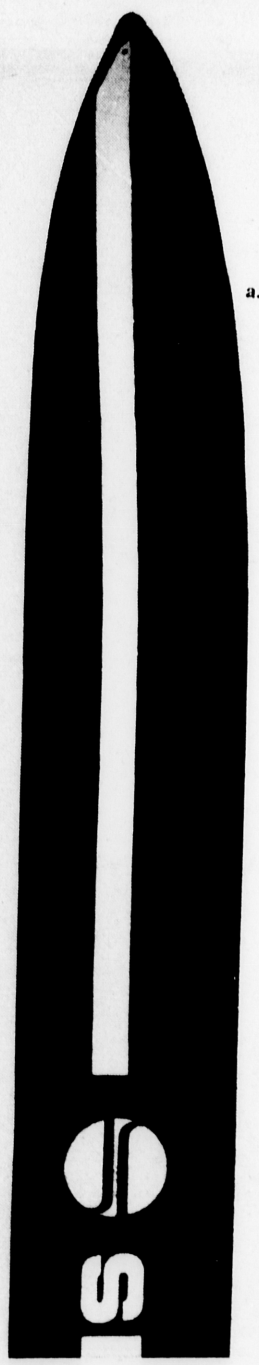

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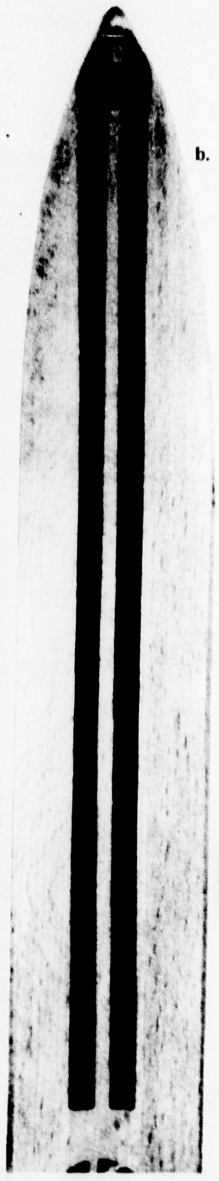

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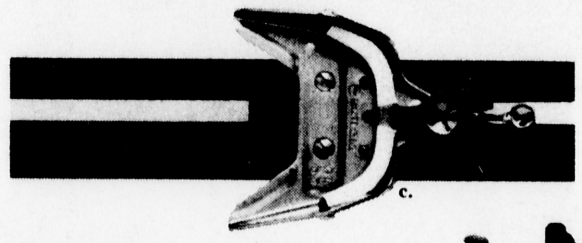

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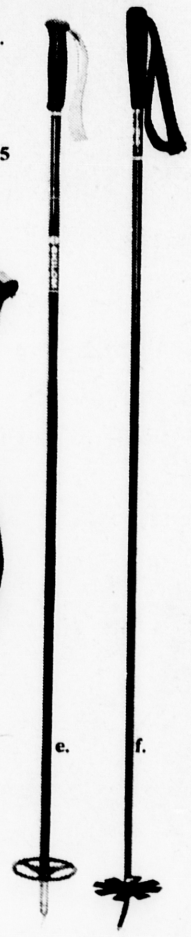

e. f.

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FREUD, THE MAN, HIS WORLD, HIS INFLUENCE

Freud, the Man, His World, His Influence, edited by Jonathan Miller; Little Brown and Co., Boston. $14.95.

By JEFF WIEAND

Physically, **Freud** is an attractive book. It is a collection of eleven new essays about subjects involving Freud, and contains 64 pages of illustrations (including eight color plates.). The pictures not only cover Freud's 83 year life, but are related to subjects discussed in the text, such as Surrealism and Vienna.

One might expect such a book to be a keep-sake album, but Miller plainly did not have this in mind. Exactly what Miller did have in mind when he edited this book is not clear. The design does suggest a book for Freud "buffs" (if there are any) but the essays rarely concentrate on Freud. They appear to use Freud as an excuse to discuss Jewish Vienna, Marxism and such things. Miller has included a chronology of the life of Freud, but has not said anything about the authors of the essays.

Happily, the essays are essentially lacking in the bad scholarship which Freud's work often invites. One of the essays did refer to the "subconscious", a term which is not Freudian and can be misleading because of its technical meaning in Jung's vocabulary. Another small point is Lichtheim's use of Edward Glover as a source on Jung (the notes say Ernest Glover). Glover's classic attack on Jung may be justified, but it is hardly the place to search for information about either Freud or Jung.

The essays dealing with Vienna, the Jews, and the German medical tradition are the most valuable because they offer background insights into Freud and his work. It is fairly well understood today that Freud must be evaluated in the context of his times. What are not helpful are attempts to explain all of Freud's thinking in terms of his experiences, or arguments designed to show that Freud's contributions were simply derived from preceeding scientists and philosophers. The striking parallels in Plato, Nietzsche, Schopenhauer and others to Freud's theories are precisely that: parallels, and not sources, and as such they strengthen the arguments of all concerned. The parallels are of great interest and merit work as comparative studies.

Lichtheim's essay on "Freud and Marx" is particularly disappointing in this respect, especially in view of the studies in this area by Erich Fromm, Thomas Johnston, and Herbert Marcuse. Lichtheim accepts Marcuse's interpretation, and details theories of Marcuse that have nothing to do with Freud. Clearly, Marcuse is not the medium through which Marx and Freud must be compared; the comparison must rest on a return to the publications of both men. A parallel between Freud and Marx and a comparison of the contemporary Marxist interpretations of Freud are two different things, and even in the second context Lichtheim only gives us generalities, and fails to discuss Fromm's objection to Marcuse's attempt to make social and political forces out of what Freud intended to be purely psychological processes.

Again, the essay on "Freud and Philosophy" by Anthony Quinton does not examine the numerous parallels between Freud and the history of philosophy, but deals (except in the case of Wittgenstein) with the philosophy of science and the validity of Freud's work as science. This line of argument is better handled in Henry Miller's excellent essay, which places psychoanalysis under the pragmatic and methodological criticisms that it deserves. Unfortunately, Miller's idea of an alternative, namely drug therapy, would generate criticisms from Marcuse, Fromm, and Freud himself. To the extent to which the etiology of mental illness is social, drug therapy evades social progress by a treatment of symptoms to the neglect of causes. If a society produces sick people, the answer is not simply an extensive repertoire of drugs.

Psychoanalysis is doomed by the advent of the technology of behavior, but Freud's work remains immensely interesting even it its relevance today is dubious. The 1920 dual theory of the instincts, for example, never was or will be scientifically acceptable, but remains a highly ingenious piece of speculative reasoning. And yet the importance of Freud is more than historical; elements of his work are still vital and useful today. What is needed in 1972 is not only a reassessment of Freud's influence, but an isolation of what is still valuable in his work (e.g., the psychogenesis of parapraxes).

Unfortunately, **Freud** does not fill the bill in this respect. The book is difficult to recommend because of the wide range of topics and the inconsistency of the essays. The pictures are the book's greatest strength, for they constitute a suitable record of Freud's life and times. But the volume is not at all a good introduction to Freud, nor will it answer the questions most likely to be raised about Freud today. However, it does give some idea of the influence and flexibility of Freudian psychoanalysis.

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vermont taxes...

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of their income in the same tax, then that tax is regressive. A tax is proportional if all are taxed the same percentage of their incomes, e.g., a 10% of across the board tax. A progressive tax makes rich people pay, for example, 25% of their income while poor people might pay 10%.

Although the proportional tax may appear neutral on the surface, the poor person who is taxed the same percentage as the rich is hurt a great deal more, for that means cutting down on necessities as opposed to luxury items for the rich. Also the wealthy person is likely to have other forms of income which are not taxed as heavily, or at all such as capital gains. This in effect, means that a proportional tax is inherently regressive.

As for utilization of these tax revenues, neutrality is hardly the appropriate word to describe this phenomenon. The question of who gets the allocations from tax revenue is ultimately a political one, and paraphrasing Addison County, Vt. State Senator H. Ward Bedford, taxes go to where the political muscle wants them to go. And the muscle behind the political muscle is the corporate interest which promises legislators (whatever their level of integrity) jobs for their constituents and economic prosperity in return for tax breaks.

One of the most important value-laden uses of the tax structure is that it creates incentives for individuals and businesses to act in certain ways. Lee Webb points to the absence of a separate capital gains tax in Vermont as creating the incentive for land speculation and the additional tax on barns and milking equipment as an incentive for small farmers selling their land to speculators.

In Vermont, these ideas are accentuated for three reasons: one, Vermont is known as, and openly admits being, a tax haven for industry; two, Vermont has one of the lowest per capita income rates in the coutry; and three, Vermonters pay more taxes per person to their state and local governments than do people in nearly any of the other fifty states.

A breakdown of Vermont tax revenues from 1970 shows that personal income tax made up about 32.7% of the state totals, the second largest portion being the state 3% sales tax at 12.7% of the total, and the corporate taxes are third with only 7.8% of the total. The rest is scattered with mostly selective sales taxes and tourist fees.

The income tax is fairly straightforward. Each Vermonter pays exactly 25% of his/her Federal income tax. This being a proportional tax, it will be as progressive or regressive as the Federal tax is, and the poorer people will be hurt most for the above mentioned reasons. An example of the loopholes included in those reasons, that other forms of income remain untaxed or less heavily taxed, is the law in Vermont that excludes the taxation of income gained from municipal bonds. Since the Federal income tax does not touch this form of income, neither can the proportional Vermont tax system.

As for the sales tax, an inherently regressive tax, the 12.7% figure stated earlier is only the tip of the iceberg. This tax is regressive primarily because among low income groups, the average propensity to consume is greater. It is only the tip of the iceberg because the 3% sales tax on goods does not include what are known as "selective sales taxes." In Vermont, this means sales taxes (although not referred to as such) on such

items as rooms, cigarettes, meals, liquor, beverages, gasoline, motor vehicles etc. If all these are included under the heading of sales taxes, the percentage of the state totals would be 53%.

Corporations find Vermont a particularly pleasant place to situate themselves due to the laxity of Vermont corporate taxes. Apart from the fact that corporate taxes are not very high in Vermont (business pays only 3% of the total revenues raised), the business usually manages to pass off their tax burden to the consumers by either lowering wages ro raising prices. A blatant example of this is the Central Vermont Public Service Corporation which is regulated by a Public Service Board. In its request for rate hikes, CVPSC includes its tax costs and asks the state to have the consumers pay these costs. Another example of passing off costs is the ski industry. "The developers of a ski resort usually set up two corporations: one to build the ski trails and operate the tramways and the other for real estate dvelopment and speculation. The ski area costs are charged to the company that operates the tramway and thus it makes very low profits and pays very little in taxes. The big money is made by the real estate subsidiary by

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building condiminiums, ski chalets, renting land to Holiday Inn, Bonwitt Teller, and so on. Since that profit is capital gains, it is hardly taxed by Vermont." The Vermonters end up paying for the additional local services required by this recreational development (snow removal, schools, road repairs, etc.) and state taxes that are part of the Highway Fund (taken from tax revenues from gasoline and auto sales, motor vehicle fees, etc.) go to building access roads to benefit the out-of-state skiers and the ski industry itself.

The tax that hits the poor hardest is the property tax. Built into the property tax law are several loopholes that only the wealthy can take advantage of. The tax on property, according to Vermont law, prohibits taxes on all new forms of wealth, including "money, stocks, bonds, household property, and jewelry." Landlords can easily pass off this tax burden to their tenants by either raising rents or cutting down on services. Assessments are by no means fair. Most assessors fear any rough handling of local businesses might cause them to pick up and leave town, leaving in their wake hundreds of jobless. If a person feels that his/her house was unfairly assessed, the appeal is a lengthy and costly one that only businesses or wealthy individuals can afford.

In most cases, the Vermonter cannot escape from the endless assaults of taxation. The corporation on the other hand, no only is able to find loopholes that ease its tax burden, it is also granted major subsidies from state and local governments in the form of tax exemptions and tax stabilization contracts, simply because it chose to locate itself in Vermont or whatever town therein. By Vermont law, cities and towns can exampt factories, mines, and quarries for up to ten years. This provision is obviously one geared to enticing businesses to settle in Vermont, and enticing old businesses to expand. The benefits the cities and towns hope to accrue from this statute are additional employment and the expansion of their tax base. Experience has not borne out these hopes. Employment is at a very low level in most industrial areas in Vermont and recreational development, in spite of its advocates' promises, does not provide jobs for Vermonters. Also, those who have been employed by the industrial and developmental expansion find their pay checks eaten away by taxes that are directly and indirectly related to corporate expansion. And although the tax base increases, so too does the property tax and the cost of town services brought on by business expansion. These costs are taken up by working class Vermonters.

The other form of subsidy is tax stabilization contracts which the towns have the power to grant. They can be granted in three ways; the lowering of assessment values, setting the current tax rate as the business tax rate and disregarding any tax increases for up to ten years, or simply setting a fixed rate for business lower than normal.

From this short look at the Vermont tax structure, a great deal can be learned about the national tax structure as well as the present stage of capitalist development. The heaviest tax burden is definitely borne by low and middle income people who can least afford the added expense. They seem untouched by loopholes, tax breaks, and subsidies (except for welfare payments which, again, are paid for by working class Vermonters). In return for the enormous percentage of their salaries lost to taxes, they receive services that only marginally meet their needs and in many cases only meet the need of out-of-staters (e.g. access roads for ski areas). It is this portion of the population that is faced with the dilemma of either watching their schools fall to pieces or paying higher taxes they simply cannot afford. It seems to be this portion of the population that is left to fend for itself; government will not come to their aid.

Business and its offspring, business people, on the other hand do not seem to be so helpless, so disorganized, or so out of favor with government. A House Ways and Means Committee estimate made of revenues lost by the federal government through loopholes to the wealthy is in the area of $50 billion per year. In return for the relatively small percentage of local, state, and federal taxes that they pay, they seem to get maximum returns. They receive roads for easy shipments, oil depletion allowances, subsidies of the Lockheed variety, schools for the children of their employees (their sons and daughters go to private schools), ad infinitum. The dilemma of this portion of the population is where to expand next. And they remain confident that that expansion will not go unprotected.

What this tax structure demonstrates is that the corporate sector, steeped in its own anti-communist ideology, is reaping all the benefits of a controlled economy, while low and middle income people must suffer under all the hardships and inconsistencies of free enterprise.

revolution...

continued from p. 3

The first I call Revolutionary Decadence. The hero of this life-style spends most if not all of his time in his room, injected with great amounts of dope, watching the television or listening to the stereo. It is important, though, that he never lose his power of rationality and thus becomes a victim. Rather, he determines, quite logically, that to live his own life he must not "do," must not "live," must not "create," must not "produce," as these are all coopted by the society and are what society wants him to do. The true decadent revolutionary defines his life as the achievement of Nothing and Nothingness, without losing the consciousness of this act and becoming miserable. To smoke dope for no other reason than to cloud one's mind while realizing the revolutionary significance of not using the high to have "fun" or to explore the mind but of the nothingness of being stoned, this is Revolutionary Decadence. I call this person the Amoeba Man; he sits in his room in a cloud of marijuana smoke, watching "I Love Lucy," shoulders sagging, eyes closing, reflexes gone, passive face. But if you look at him long enough and closely, you will detect, from time to time, an enigmatic smile, half smirk, half triumphant cross his face. He has won.

The other type of transcendant life style may not even be worth mentioning for I am not sure it is possible. I call it Revolutionary Love: the love of life, but not of living. The Revolutionary Lover loves the things that nature has created, air, water, etc.; he has a certain vitality for being alive, for enjoying the sense experience that nature can bring. I do not mean the smiling lobotomized idiot on Coke commercials. This distinction is very important. For hysterical laughter while rolling in the snow does not mean that one loves the life force, it signifies that one has energy that needs to be burned. The revolutionary lover lives apart from society for society is a corruption of life, he lives alone among life's purer creatures and creations, vital and healthy, content and fulfilled, irresponsible and unstriving. When you meet a revolutionary lover in society you will say that he is miserable and hates living; you are right, for he is repulsed by living in corrupt society. But the life principle lives on and you may detect it from time to time where you least suspect it. If you pass by someone who you have determined to be a thoroughly life-hating creature and for no reason at all you feel a sudden exhiliration, you will know you have found one.

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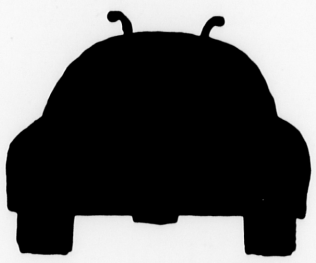

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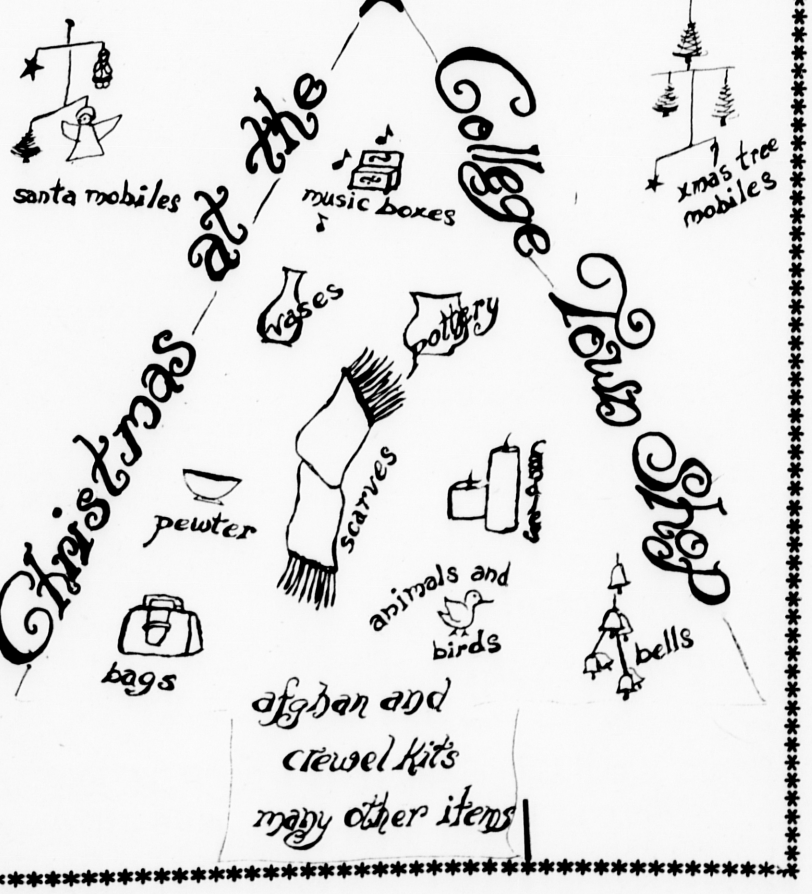

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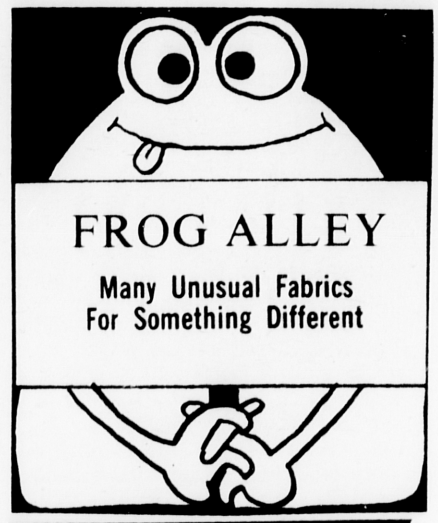

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